



COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

Volume VIII, Number 2

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COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

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L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'URBANISME
COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

CONTENTS

Table des MATIÈRES

NEW TOWNS IN THE ST. LAWRENCE AREA		35
INDUSTRY CALLS FOR ACTION IN COMMUNITY PLANNING AND REDEVELOPMENT Urban Renewal	T. V. Houser	36 37
What Industry Expects from Community Planning	Robert J. Whan	39
Urban Renewal – A New Frontier	Roy W. Johnson	42
The Businessman's Stake in Urban Renewal	Andrew Heiskell	45
A GOOD LOOK AT THE GOVERNMENT IN HOUSING (A review of Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance, by Albert Rose)	Drayton S. Bryant	47
PROBLÈMES MÉTROPOLITAINS (with English Summary, page 57)	CE. Campeau	52
MONTRÉAL LA MAGNIFIQUE	Claude Robillard	59
HIGHWAYS FOR WHAT?	James W. Wilson	63
REVIEWS		
Education for Planning, by Harvey S. Perloff	Alan H. Armstrong	67
CITIES IN FLOOD, by Peter Self	Nigel H. Richardson	69
Sydney's Great Experiment, by Denis Winston	Brahm Wiesman	70
VANCOUVER REDEVELOPMENT STUDY	Stanley H. Pickett	71
A Graphic Summary of Municipal Improvement and Finance, by H. Bronson Cowan	Eric Beecroft	73

Cover Illustration: Proposed Shoppers' Mall for Victoria, B.C. The sketch is by the Engineers' Office of the City of Victoria. The Broad Street Shoppers' Mall is part of a plan to make downtown Victoria more attractive by closing to traffic a street which is considered unnecessary and redesigning it for pedestrian use only. This proposal is intended to stimulate increased business and to encourage improvement of the adjacent properties. The proposal is sponsored by the City Engineer's Office and has the approval of the Downtown Business Men's Association.

La promenade publique des acheteurs de Broad Street fait partie d'un plan d'embellissement du centre commercial de Victoria, en vertu duquel une rue qui n'est plus jugée nécessaire comme telle, est fermée à la circulation pour être ré-affectée uniquement aux piétons. Ce projet est destiné à activer les affaires tout en encourageant l'amélioration des propriétés adjacentes. Cette proposition a été présentée par le bureau de l'ingénieur de la cité, et a été approuvée par "Downtown Business Men's Association".

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NEW TOWNS established by the Ontario Hydro. Seven villages and part of the town of Morrisburg (525 homes) were relocated from the 20,000-acre area affected by the St. Lawrence Project. The top photo shows Long Sault; the middle photo, Iroquois; and the bottom photo, the new Morrisburg Shopping Centre with most of the town's new residential subdivision. The area in Morrisburg near the river in the background of the photo will be flooded.

NOUVELLES VILLES établies par Ontario Hydro. Sept villages et une partie de la ville de Morrisburg (525 maisons) ont été déplacés du district de 20,000 acres affecté par la canalisation du St-Laurent. La photo supérieure est du Long Sault; celle du milieu, d'Iroquois; et la photo du bas, le nouveau centre d'achat de Morrisburg avec la plus grande partie de la nouvelle subdivision résidentielle de la ville. La partie de Morrisburg près du fleuve, à l'arrière plan de la photo, sera inondée.

Photos: Ontario Hydro







INDUSTRY CALLS FOR ACTION

ON COMMUNITY PLANNING AND REDEVELOPMENT

communities of America. First, of course, is the Mayor, the city manager and the planners. They have the tremendous responsibility of seeking out the information for laying broad plans. Secondly, there is the citizen group. Without real citizen support every city that tries to do the job fails. And thirdly, and just as important as the other two, is the element of business leadership. I am convinced that if these three groups will team up city by city and take on the local responsibility and have the local initiative, we will all, 20 years from now, be pretty proud of our towns and of our country.

Andrew Heiskell, Publisher, LIFE Magazine

Community planning is on the march, and, like the automobile, it's here to stay . . . Planning is just as vital to us as it is to you . . . All our activities are backed by planning groups that are concentrating on the future.

Robert J. Whan, Ford Motor Company

As businessmen you are uniquely qualified to assume a leadership role in this matter of urban renewal. Your business experience qualifies you for such a role, and you have a responsibility to your business and your community to accept it.

T. V. Houser, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Sears, Roebuck and Company

- ... Many businesses are learning how to do an effective job of five-year or ten-year planning, and a growing number of business decisions are being made upon the basis of long-range plans rather than day-to-day or year-by-year considerations. And our rapidly expanding economy in a period of accelerating change produced by research and development has seriously raised the question of whether we must learn to plan even farther ahead -15 to 20 years an entire business generation.
- ... Sooner or later, we come to the question, where is the money going to come from, and the problem of fitting investment capital into our plans of development. In this kind of planning I am hopeful that bankers, insurance people, real estate men will take the lead, to an even greater extent than they have already done in many cities.
 - Roy W. Johnson, Executive Vice-President, General Electric Company (recently appointed as Director, Advanced Research Projects, U.S. Department of Defence).

EDITOR'S NOTE. In long-term planning in North America, private enterprise appears to be far ahead of our governments and community organizations. In the United States during the past two or three years, the demand for community planning and for citizen action in support of planning has been expressed forcibly by many leaders of business and industry. The REVIEW takes pleasure in quoting the following excerpts from public statements by four such leaders.

Urban Renewal

by T. V. Houser, Chairman

Board of Directors,

Sears, Roebuck and Company

Excerpts from an address by Mr. Houser to the Better Business Bureau of Chicago, 1956.



T. V. Houser

This seems to me an appropriate meeting for the discussion of this problem. After all, membership in an organization such as the Better Business Bureau indicates a willingness to accept responsibility and provide leadership. The magnitude of the task of urban renewal in the Chicago area certainly requires the knowledge, energy, and leadership ability which men such as yourselves are in a position to provide.

I think that all of us in Chicago can be proud of the position our city holds as a production center. In a recent article, the *Chicago Daily News* stated that Chicago is the world's largest producer of steel, first in the production of fabricated metal products, first in the production of non-electrical machinery, first in the production of railroad equipment, and first in the manufacture of electrical and electronic products.

The future looks extremely bright with the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway project and the accompanying development of the Cal Sag area. There can be little doubt that Chicago has developed industrial and business opportunity to a tremendous degree, and because of this many people have been attracted to Chicago as a place to work. But there is one serious blot in this picture — the condition of our housing.

THE CITY

The city of Chicago has an area of about 211 square miles. Of this total, 23 square miles consists of hopelessly blighted slums, and another 56 square miles is in the process of becoming blighted, although not yet at the hopeless stage. In other words, about 37% of the total area occupied by the City of Chicago is already in slum status or beginning to approach slum status. This is a situation which should be of very great concern to us as businessmen and as citizens.

The problem is as serious as it is because we have not faced up to it, either as businessmen or as citizens. On the contrary, we have tried to walk away from it. As

the city neighborhoods in which many of us first lived grew older and began to grow a little run down, we moved to the suburbs — frequently the close-in suburbs which in due course came to feel the touch of blight themselves, whereupon many of us moved on to more distant and still untouched areas. As we moved, behind us followed others, themselves seeking to escape from neighborhoods where blight had progressed somewhat further; and behind them still others at successively lower rungs of the economic ladder - everyone seeking to escape the consequences of varying degrees of blight by the simple expedient of packing up and moving away. To some extent, the same thing has occurred with many of our business enterprises. Frequently, of course, there are important economic and other advantages in moving plants to suburban or small town areas, but often these very advantages loom large simply because of the progressive decay of the city itself.

But while an individual household or an individual businessman can solve his own immediate problems by packing up and moving away, the city cannot. And, for that matter, realistically speaking, neither can the householder or the businessman, however more pleasant he may find the new surroundings into which his family or his plant has moved. The consequences of blight are

We have a long tradition at Sears that our executives are expected to take an active part in local affairs . . . We are now in the process of urging that they expand the area of their interest and activity to include that of urban renewal. We are hopeful that their training and experience and the backing they have from top management will enable them to make a real contribution in communities across the nation. We not only have an important economic stake in this matter, but a civic stake as well. We are anxious to serve them both.

not limited to the blighted areas themselves, but spread like a pall over the entire community. In our comfortable neighborhoods, we feel those consequences in the form of the higher tax rates needed to subsidize areas which do not produce enough tax revenue to support their essential services or to produce the extra fire and police protection required by the social conditions created by the blight. We feel the consequences in the alarming state of juvenile delinquency and the prevalence of crime in those areas where people grow up and live under slum and near slum conditions.

HELP IS NEEDED

The problem involves leadership from business as well as from political, educational and religious groups. But how effective has the leadership of business executives been when their social and family life is so far removed? As businessmen, we paint the glories of the American way of life in glowing terms. Do the realities of living conditions of large numbers of our people come up to their expectations and aspirations? We are distressed that our own employees often do not share our enthusiasm for the virtues of free enterprise and often respond to leadership — political and otherwise — which is critical of free enterprise as we know it and understand it. I submit that it is unrealistic on our part to expect enthusiastic support for the American economic system from people whose attitude is influenced by their undesirable surroundings.

We have, I think, adequate government machinery for dealing with problems that must be attacked from a government level. How well that machinery is operated, how properly it is financed, and how strongly it is supported by public opinion is another matter. I have been greatly impressed with the leadership Mayor Daley is providing in this field and the vigor with which he is dealing with the various phases of what, by its very nature, must be a complex undertaking. One thing which we as citizens and businessmen can do is to give him the support and encouragement he has shown he deserves — and insist, through the cultivation of an intelligent and active public opinion, that the various agencies of the city government perform in the manner and with the effectiveness he and we expect them to perform.

These governmental agencies deal primarily, although by no means exclusively, with problems of slum and near-slum neighborhoods, problems which have been allowed to fester to a point where only government can deal with them. But there are other tasks which can be handled far more effectively — and efficiently — by nongovernmental means. These are tasks which lie in the general area of arresting neighborhood decay and preventing the formation of slums. Slum clearance is a massive and expensive undertaking that is largely beyond the reach of private endeavour. But slum preven-

tion is not only within the scope of voluntary action; by and large, it can only be achieved by that means.

WHAT SEARS IS DOING ABOUT URBAN RENEWAL

As a businessman, it is the possibility of effective action at the neighborhood level that appeals most strongly. Our company, for example, is deeply concerned with the condition of the neighborhood on the West side of Chicago where our national headquarters are located, our largest mail order plant, and one of our largest retail stores. This area, known as Lawndale, has already been touched by blight, and unless prompt and vigorous corrective action is taken, it is inevitable that conditions will grow progressively worse. More and more, our own employees have been moving away from the Lawndale community, creating among other things serious problems of transportation in getting to and from work. We have a real economic stake in maintaining a stable prosperous area in which our retail store can do business. And as a corporate citizen, we have a vital civic stake in the caliber and character of the community which is home for so important a segment of our company's operations.

We have been concerned for a number of years at the gradual deterioration of our home community. At one time we gave serious thought to transferring our headquarters - our parent organization - elsewhere, perhaps to some pleasant location in the suburbs. Our total operations on the West side occupy an area of about 40 acres, and our total floor space is in excess of 4,500,000 square feet, most of it built around 1905. Only at prohibitive loss would it be possible to relocate the mail order plant and the retail in another area, but we could and did think seriously of relocating our national headquarters. But after reviewing the matter carefully, we decided not to move. The launching of the Congress Street Superhighway, with all its promise of improvement for the entire area, was an important factor in reaching this decision. But we also felt we had a responsibility for the area, one that we should not try to walk away from. And we had faith in the future of that section of Chicago, a future we felt we could help mold by doing what lay within our power to help improve the community.

On the basis of that decision, we have moved ahead with plans to air condition and modernize our buildings. We have expanded our land holdings by purchasing substandard housing, clearing the property, and converting it into parking lots. By the time our modernization plans are completed, we will have invested an additional \$5,500,000 in our West side properties. This is a measure of our faith in the essential soundness of our home community.

In addition to direct investments of this type, we are lending support and encouragement to the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission, a voluntary organ-

ization created by the citizens of the community to help deal with the specific problems of the area. This is a relatively new organization, but it has great promise. The Back of the Yards Council and the South East Chicago Commission in their own particular areas have shown what concerted, voluntary civic effort can accomplish. In its own way and in respect to its own conditions, we hope that the Lawndale organization can be equally successful. As citizens of the community, we accept our full share of the responsibility for supporting its efforts to that end.

Our interest in this subject is not confined to the Lawndale area. We are cooperating with similar groups which have been organized in other areas of the city. And we are urging our local store managers and other company executives in all of the cities where we are located to associate themselves with and lend active support to the voluntary civic movements set up to deal with the similar problems of their own communities.

We have a long tradition at Sears that our executives are expected to take an active part in local civic affairs . . . We are now in the process of urging that they

expand the area of their interest and activity to include that of urban renewal. We are hopeful that their training and experience and the backing they have from top management will enable them to make a real contribution in communities across the nation. We not only have an important economic stake in this entire matter, but a civic stake as well. We are anxious to serve them both.

YOUR PART IN URBAN RENEWAL

The membership of the Chicago Better Business Bureau is drawn from all sections of this city. Many of you, like Sears, may have plants or other facilities located in semi-blighted or blighted areas. If you do, you will know from personal experience something about the problems I have been describing. And if that is the case, I hope you will recognize your business and civic stake in doing something about it.

As businessmen, you are uniquely qualified to assume a leadership role in this matter of urban renewal. Your business experience qualifies you for such a role, and you have a responsibility to your business and your community to accept it.

What Industry Expects from Community Planning

by Robert J. Whan, Associate for Municipal Governments, Ford Motor Company

Excerpts from a talk given by Mr. Whan at the annual dinner meeting of the Lorain County Regional Planning Commission, Lorain, Ohio, January 23, 1957.

Community planning is on the march, and, like the automobile, it's here to stay. However, we know from experience that it is still considered either unnecessary or a luxury in many places in the country. I can tell you that we are always glad to know that in a particular community or area there exists both a consciousness of the need for careful planning and an organization to carry it out for the good of all.

Planning is just as vital to us as it is to you. Ford Motor Company, for example, is very much in the planning business. All of our activities are backed by planning groups that are concentrating on the future. Dayto-day decisions are strongly influenced by projected thinking and planning.

There is no doubt in our minds that planning is well worth the effort. No modern business or industry could operate long without it. The same applies fully to government at all levels. I think local government has been slower to appreciate and accept the ingredient of planning than has business — probably because the element of product competition that we have in business has been lacking. And I think planning groups as such have still not come into their own in terms of having their de-

cisions and recommendations given full recognition and weight, particularly by the citizenry.

However, competition has now come to municipalities. Competition for residents — workers — competition for business and industry. And one of the great factors in successfully meeting competition is planning. Also, the tremendous rise in prices and costs is beginning to force communities and governments to undertake planning in order to realize greater economy and efficiency.

I think that the businessman's interest in these matters is more intense than that of the average citizen. We are more sensitive to it because we have large amounts of capital at stake and because we are more likely to be concerned with an entire area, as against a limited local concern

It is a practical consideration for us for these reasons:

- (1) Our employees perform better in an attractive community environment.
- (2) Good highway, school, and park planning means employees' family satisfaction, and that pays dividends in better work attitudes.

(3) Proper planning will prevent subsequent disputes between a plant and neighboring residents. Good planning, or zoning, prevents the rise of problems concerning such things as smoke, noise, and traffic congestion.

(4) A well planned community should result in an efficient community, and that means either lower taxes or a better expenditure of funds, which makes more monies available to business for expansion and

improvement.

We know there is plenty of room for both industry and homes in a community. We fully realize, of course, that a community does not exist just for industry, but most people in government and planning are cognizant of the fact that communities cannot exist satisfactorily without a balanced amount of business and industry. A well balanced community is one that provides for a tax paying base of commercial and business, as well as residential, income.

Speaking in generalities, our appetite consists, first of all, of a liking for the bread and butter things - the basic ingredients needed for industrial life: water, sanitation, power supply, streets, employees, and transportation facilities.

Then we like a little jam on our bread: Beauty in addition to utility - attractive surroundings, air, light,

We like a changing menu, too. What we have now will not necessarily be adequate 10 to 20 years from now. We want to find willingness to consider change. If we grow in a community, we expect the community to grow with us, to be willing to accept the change that comes with growth.

As industry grows, however, so do the fixed costs of an area. These, as we all know, have been rising constantly in recent years. Industry is well aware of this problem - considers it a serious one, and is willing to help where it can. We believe that one way to increase the community take-home pay mentioned earlier is to concentrate on the fixed costs and seek ways to reduce them through cooperative effort and better planning:

(1) by governmental units;

(2) between government and industry;

(3) by enlisting citizen cooperation.

It can be said with certainty that until recent years one of industry's most neglected resources had been the places and people where its operations were conducted. We can no longer ignore this facet of our operations or be disinterested. Business today is an important partner in the life of the community.

Among the most important changes today is the shift in population from the cities to the suburbs. This has been made possible to a large extent by the automobile, although city congestion and obsolescence and the tre-

mendous job of promoting suburbs have had substantial influences. The trend seems to be increasingly away from the teeming metropolitan centers. Americans are demanding - and getting - more single-family homes, more sunshine and air, more and better roads. Where people go, so also go shopping centers and services formerly available only in the city.

You in planning are particularly aware of what this means for municipal governments: shifts in political power, redistricting, considerable loss in tax revenue for the city, decreased sales for downtown merchants.

Industry, too, has followed the flight to the suburbs but in a different way. The days of smoke pouring into the windows of company houses are relics of the past. Today residential districts and plant districts are both suburban, sometimes right together, sometimes apart, contingent to some extent on the planning that has been exercised in the area.

In the old days there were four basic objectives in planning a city:

(1) A place to live.

(2) A place to work.

(3) Means of transportation.

(4) Some minimum recreational facilities, such as parks.

Let's consider now some of the past mistakes in planning or shortcomings caused by lack of planning:

(1) Overcrowding of the land.

(2) Lack of zoning.

(3) Monotony of layout.

(4) Failure to acquire sites for schools, parks and

recreation soon enough.

In all fairness to your predecessors, however, we must admit that they had neither the facts needed for realization of potential growth nor the tools to uncover facts such as you have today. And I'm sure that in the main, business and industry neither encouraged nor helped our early planners.

The need today is for broader planning. We in the automobile business look for big growth in the 1960's. There should be many more two- and three-car families. War babies will be reaching their maturity. This general expansion of the economy will mean more houses, more autos, more highways, and more of all kinds of goods. The past decade should prove modest by comparison with the next decade. We at Ford are betting more than \$4 billion on this future. That covers our capital expenditures only up through the end of 1957.

Too, bigness and broadness in planning is what makes the citizen "catch fire." His imagination can be aroused by the vision of his community planners. Our own city of Detroit, for example, is downright excited about its new civic center. We can't arouse and maintain enthusiasm without imaginative change, planning, and new

additions to the landscape.

DEARBORN (Michigan) engine plant of Ford Motor Company. This plant contains 1,500,000 square feet of floor space, employs about 8,000 persons and turns out Ford and Lincoln overhead valve V8 engines.



Plans have to relate to others. There must be an interrelationship between communities; perhaps planning that overlaps state borders in some instances. The old era of living in a vacuum is gone. Towns join each other at the borders so contiguously that we move from one to another without realizing it. Relationship between communities must be an established part of our planning. This, of course, is particularly true in metropolitan areas.

These are the basic points of my own company's industrial site investigation — in no order of priority, the priority again depending on the particular situation.

(1) Land: the ideal site from a topographical and construction point of view is shaped so that maximum use can be made of the acreage, a minimum of grading is necessary, the subsoil provides adequate foundation, and the elevation, with respect to the surrounding land, permits proper drainage.

(2) UTILITIES: the immediate availability of adequate quantities of water, gas and sewers at economical rates.

(3) Transportation: the availability of railroad and highway facilities, the provision of public transportation for employees, and access highways for personnel to get to and from the plant.

(4) Freight economy: this includes the cost of both inbound manufactured products and outbound freight costs for the finished vehicle or product.

(5) Tax structure: a favorable comparison of the present and anticipated tax structure with respect to our

own existing locations and the locations of our competition elsewhere in the nation. A forecast of future tax possibilities should be available, based on probable residential and industrial growth and anticipated expenditures for schools and other public projects.

(6) LABOR MARKET: the adequacy of the labor market to serve the plant requirements in skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled classifications. This should include labor "atmosphere". It is not very difficult to assemble data as to the number of workers available and whether they are male or female. It is difficult to report accurately the state of employer-employee relations in a community, since there are likely to be conflicting opinions.

(7) COMMUNITY RELATIONS: a favorable community attitude toward industry and an expressed desire on the part of the community to welcome the proposed facility.

We do not want to locate where we are not wanted. Where the old opinion still exists that industry deteriorates an area and a community, no company can expect to obtain maximum cooperation. We are sensitive to a community whose populace has what we believe to be the modern and correct concept that a balance between business, industry, and residences is both necessary and desirable, who regard industrial plants as a prideful community asset rather than an unwanted eyesore, where an industry is regarded as a welcome civic participant and its business a builder of the area's economy.

Urban Renewal — A New Frontier

by Roy W. Johnson

Excerpts from an address given at the Midwest Urban Renewal Clinic conducted by ACTION (American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods) in Dayton, Ohio, March 14, 1957, when Mr. Johnson was Executive Vice-President of the General Electric Company. Mr. Johnson is now Director of The Advanced Research Project Agency, U. S. Department of Defense.



Roy W. Johnson

I would like to talk today chiefly about three very precious things: time, lives, and dollars. The time is the time that is running out on our cities and suburbs which are not undertaking a program of urban renewal and development; the lives are the lives of the one hundred million of us who are now living crowded together in 175 metropolitan areas, and the other millions who are coming in the next decades as surely as our burgeoning birth-rate; and the dollars, though somewhat inflated, are those that are required in very great numbers if we are to turn our plans and programs into reality and achieve our goals.

Today more and more business leaders are attempting to work out more or less definite plans for the development of their enterprises for a period of five or ten years ahead. From the best forecasts available on such factors as population growth, family formation, gross national product, national income and its distribution, it is possible to estimate research and development expenditures and many other factors and the approximate level of the economy at specified future dates, and the approximate potential market. Next, sales forecasts over the five or ten year period are prepared, based on the projected market potential indicated in the initial study. Then, based on these sales projections a careful study is made of what would be required in terms of additional capital, plant and equipment, manpower, research, and organization. Finally, from these requirements is drafted a program, phased over the period of the plan, which will meet the estimated needs of the business on all fronts and in time.

On this basis many businesses are learning how to do an effective job of five-year or ten-year planning, and a growing number of business decisions are being made upon the basis of long-range plans rather than day-to-day or year-by-year considerations. And our rapidly expanding economy in a period of accelerating change produced by research and development has seriously raised the question of whether we must not learn to plan even farther ahead - 15 to 20 years - an entire business generation.

The problem of time is related to the problem of growth. There is no question about the growth of our urban areas, it is only a matter of whether it will be a healthy or malignant growth. A recent study of the New York Times of the problem of urban renewal drew a rather horrifying picture of a time when the entire Eastern Seaboard of the United States would be one continuous city. This is no fantasy, fantastic as it seems. An estimated 32 million people now live in an urban region that extends almost unbroken along the East Coast for more than 600 miles — from north of Boston to below Alexandria, Va. In this area, the suburbs of cities have grown into one another, overlapping, with very few rural interstices left between. And 18 other urban regions of the U.S. face proportional growth.

We are all familiar with statistics that tell us our population will be some 25 million more in 1965 than it is now. When we hear those figures, we are duly impressed by the fact that in 1965 we are going to have a sizeable number of additional people among us. But what too frequently is not realized, I am afraid, is that millions of those people are not going to wait to 1965 to arrive — there will be more people today than there were yesterday, and still more people tomorrow than there are today. If we are going to hit any of our moving targets in urban renewal, we've got to start planning now and aim ahead.

Every minute, our population is increased by five. Every hour, around the clock, the increase amounts to 300. These increases are net figures. And as we all know, most of this increase takes place in our cities.

Yet how well are we prepared — or even preparing



Business is hampered by conflicting residential uses, by on street parking, by lack of unloading space and space for expansion. For these and other reasons industrialists are turning towards planning and urban renewal for help in the solution of their problems.

— to serve the 7,200 more people who join us every day? I use the word "serve" advisedly, because it is my considered belief as a businessman that a community — just like a business — must serve and serve well if it is to progress. Businesses which have grown and survived are those which have had the courage and the foresight to plan ahead, to invest in realistic expansion, to prepare themselves in advance to serve the customers they could reasonably anticipate.

The combination of more people and more cars gives us the most obvious symptom of the disease from which our communities are suffering. Congestion is proof positive of the inefficiency of our urban operation. It is a strange paradox, indeed, that we, who pride ourselves on being the most efficient people the world has ever known, have been content to suffer so long the inefficiencies, the needless, wasteful costs, inherent in congestion. Traffic jams last year cost the nation an estimated \$5 billion. In the last 25 years we have halved the time it takes to go across the country, and multiplied by two or three the time it takes to go across town.

I know I need not dwell on the other symptoms of deterioration of our urban centers. We are all too familiar with the inadequate housing, the crowded hospitals and schools, with the water supply and sewage treatment problems, with the lack of sufficient and appropriate playgrounds — all back of the great mass migration to the suburbs in the last decade.

While our progress to date, in striving for the radical changes that must be made in altering the character of

entire areas, may seem trivial, we can take heart from the fact that our direction is being pointed out more clearly every day by an increasing number of people in all walks of life who see that it is only the size of the job remaining to be done which is dwarfing that progress. These leaders include not only planners, city officials, businessmen, but rank and file citizens — people with a sincere and genuine interest in the future of their communities. These citizens are of the utmost importance in the urban renewal programs now getting under way. Planners realize that planning must be with, as well as for, people. Widespread citizen support and participation are becoming increasingly vital ingredients of successful renewal programs. City after city is finding it essential to stimulate formation of citizen organizations to study and help explain the reasons for renewal projects, to participate in the development of plans for them, to support the necessary use of public expenditures on the part of the municipality, and to invest, build and modernize as part of the urban renewal process.

Herein, in my opinion, lies the key to urban renewal. For under our form of government, it is only when officials have widespread citizen understanding and support that they venture to undertake the necessary actions affecting so many people. Similarly, local citizen understanding and support are essential if those officials who attempt to carry out such programs are to remain in good standing with their constituents.

As a businessman, I am proud to tell you that business is playing its role in this urban renewal movement. Many people in commerce and industry are assuming positions of leadership in community organizations de-

dicated to bettering our urban environment. Now I do not want to be misunderstood. I wish to make it perfectly clear that over and above the corporate and individual good citizenship being manifested by men and women who are among our business leaders, these people are displaying a pragmatic and enlightened self-interest. They have much at stake in our cities.

In my company, we consider all these factors. We are making a continuing appraisal of the business climate of the communities in which we operate — or plan to locate. To give you an idea of how important we believe this is, I can tell you that we have prepared a guide for our managers and other interested people. This guide contains no less than 187 questions on socio-economic conditions generally recognized as having some effect on business climate or as indicating the existence of certain favorable — or unfavorable — situations.

I will not, of course, labor you with all the questions we are asking ourselves in making this appraisal in the various communities. But you might like an idea of the key factors in which we — and I am sure other businesses — are interested. Here, then, are the eight desirable elements which we feel make up a favorable business climate:

- (1) COMMUNITY PROGRESSIVENESS a realistically progressive attitude on the part of political, religious, and professional leaders toward sound community growth and city planning, along with citizen understanding of community and business problems.
- (2) Government honest and efficient government, supported by a safe majority of alert, intelligent voters who have the best balanced interests of the community at heart, with an absence of unreasonably restrictive regulations or financial handicaps imposed by the local, state, and federal governments.
- (3) LABOR RELATIONS a sound working relationship between employers and employees as evidenced by an absence of unwarranted strikes and slowdowns over a number of years and, where collective bargaining contracts are in effect, a constructive and fair union leadership which acts as the servant rather than the master of its membership.
- (4) People an adequate supply of people to fill employment needs who have a good work attitude, who are properly educated, who are in good physical condition, and who have a good understanding of how our business system operates and their stake in its success.
- (5) Labor costs wage and salary rates and payment methods which are fair to employees, and at the same time provide an opportunity for employers to operate profitably in competition with other manufacturers of their product lines.
- (6) Community services and facilities adequate community services and facilities such as banks, hotels, utilities, shopping facilities, health facilities, and the commercial services needed in operating businesses.

- (7) Social, cultural and educational institutions a social and cultural atmosphere that will attract and hold good professional employees, including good and adequate schools, and enlightened press, radio and TV, and an abundance of healthful recreational opportunities.
- (8) Business citizenship a serious-minded assumption of business citizenship responsibilities on the part of all employers in the community as evidenced by consistently good employee relations and courageous leadership in civic and political affairs.

It is under these main headings that we are asking ourselves the 187 questions — questions dealing with the realism with which political and civic leaders are facing up to facts concerning the growth of the community, its developments, its long-range and comprehensive planning, and many others.

As I stated at the outset, when business asks these questions it does so because it has a stake in the future of the communities where it lives and wishes to protect and enhance that future. The same thing holds true for the community itself. Its citizens must work with business and industry to improve the future of everyone in the community today, plus all those that will be attracted to it, or be born into it.

* * *

At the beginning of these remarks I said that I would talk chiefly about time, lives, and dollars. I have stressed planning because I believe that if we are going to get ahead of the job in urban renewal we are all going to have to do a job of adequate long-range planning — we've simply got to decide now what kind of community we want five, ten, twenty years from now — and work out a program carefully phased to meet our needs on all fronts and in time. I have stressed people, because the great growth of our population is not only the source of our problem, but the growth of participation by people like you is our best hope for its solution.

What is wanted are not so much dollars as plans, big-enough, long-range enough, to meet our needs – at least at first, if the dollars are not to be wasted. But sooner or later we come to the question, where is the money going to come from, and the problem of fitting investment capital into our plans of development. In this kind of planning I am hopeful that bankers, insurance people, real estate men will take the lead, to an even greater extent than they have already done in many cities. In fact, one of the most encouraging things is the way that in many areas private enterprise has come to the front in an area in which it has become almost habitual to turn to Washington. How can we afford it? My own answer is: We cannot afford not to. For urban renewal is truly a new frontier - an opportunity for prudent investment, for realistic building and upgrading, for preparing for and insuring the future.

The Businessman's Stake in Urban Renewal

by Andrew Heiskell,

Publisher, LIFE Magazine, and Chairman, Board of Directors, ACTION

Excerpts from an address by Mr. Heiskell before the Midwest Urban Renewal Clinic, conducted by ACTION (American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods), Dayton, Ohio, March 14, 1957.

I would like to talk about the problem of urban renewal that faces us all from a somewhat specialized viewpoint. That is, the businessman's role in the field of urban renewal.

To quite a large extent, our cities as they stand today are the result of the industrial revolution. In the rush and hurry of the 19th Century our cities were put together helter-skelter. They were brought together for the purpose of combining horse-power, manpower and materials. During that time of tremendous expansion, less social consciousness existed and little thought was given to what a city meant to its inhabitants. Most of the inhabitants were working 10, 12 hours a day, and the few who were privileged managed to avoid the unpleasant aspects of the city.

So that is to quite a large extent our heritage, and the reason this heritage has become an even greater problem is that in the last few decades fantastic changes have taken place. In the first place, a vast middle class has arisen — a class of educated, responsible people who rightfully are demanding that the cities they live in should have the amenities that they have a right to expect. The population has grown so rapidly that cities today — rather than facilitating the flow of commerce — have encountered an actual slowing down of that flow.

A third major change that has occurred and that all of us have to recognize is that a few decades ago space was unlimited. We entertained an attitude of 'why plan — why worry about the next step?' Today we are facing a limitation of space. There just isn't enough land available with which to do all the things we need to do. Therefore we have to apply thought and planning to our future.



Andrew Heiskell

Finally, of course, and perhaps the most important of all, the automobile came, and while on the one hand it expanded city limits, on the other hand it also caused a frustrating congestion that all of us today know too well. A minor statistic, one that always impresses me is, that every time a man drives into Dayton — or any other city — in his car to go to work, he goes to his office building where he occupies perhaps 100 square feet, and his car goes to a garage where it occupies 175 square feet. Now — this is a pretty serious situation. When you consider that in the last 10 years we have been adding $2\frac{1}{2}$ million people per year — net addition — and for every person we have added, we have also added a car — $2\frac{1}{2}$ million cars per year net addition!

So here we are today, with 168 metropolitan areas containing the majorities of the communities of the country. In those 168 metropolitan areas we have about two-thirds of the total population, 75% of the manufacturing capacity of the country, and about 90% of its national income. The future of our country is going to depend to a large extent on what we do in those areas.

The tremendous growth that lies ahead, the next 25 million people who are going to come along, the tremendous growth in manufacturing, the tremendous growth in cultural activities, may mean for us the flowering of our civilization, or, if we are not successful in coping with that growth, it may just show that we are incapable of managing our own destinies.

Now for business. It is obvious that this growth will have an important impact on its future. Many companies are making great plans for the future – 5 years, 10 years, 15 years from now. Many companies are expecting enormous increases in sales. I for one would not just guess, but firmly believe that these optimistic plans for the future cannot take place unless the environment is right, and there is considerable question as to whether the environment is right or whether we are moving fast enough to create this proper environment. In the last



The intermixture of land uses in areas such as this leads to serious problems for the industrialist as well as for the resident. The chaotic pattern of residential, industrial and public land uses is here illustrated in the City of Montreal.

Photo: Armour Landry

10 years, for every step forward we have taken, we have taken a step backward.

You know about the figures that have been fairly well publicized — that 5 million homes are just slums; that 20 million homes are in disrepair. You know about the traffic problems. You hear that one million homes a year are being built. But frankly, these new one million homes are hardly making a dent in the problem. As many are going down the slope to destruction as are being currently built.

You businessmen know that for your plants to operate successfully your cities must help. Your employees must be happy. Your employees must have the right environment to be able to work efficiently and to stay with you. You have heard about what happened in Pittsburgh. It was summarized in one simple statement; in Pittsburgh, they couldn't attract white-collar employees because the white collars wouldn't stay white. So they did something about it, and now Pittsburgh is becoming a center that attracts industry and attracts talents, skills and workers.

* * *

When you think about the future and the role that business can play in it, you inevitably come to one other conclusion. That is, that the businesses of the nation are going to play a role in the development of our cities whether they want to or not. Let me explain. The vast estimate of construction over the next 10 years totals the staggering figure of 500 billion dollars. Of that 500

billion dollars, a little less than one-third of this will consist of residential construction.

So the businessmen of this country are going to spend in the next 10 years somewhere between \$300 billion and \$350 billion. How that money is spent — where these buildings are erected — how zoning is taken care of — the degree to which the plans of individual businesses and the overall plans of the city are coordinated — is going to determine the future look of the country. So, in effect, there is no escape from taking the responsibility of making the decisions. Whatever you do, whatever businessmen individually do in terms of decisions, will determine the physical shape of the nation, and the physical shape of the nation will, in turn, determine to quite a large extent the social nature of our country.

So my plea is a very simple one — and that is: there are three elements that must get together in creating the renewed communities of America. First, of course, is the official group, the Mayor, the city manager and the planners. They have the tremendous responsibility of seeking out the information for laying broad plans. Secondly, there is the citizen group. Without real citizen support every city that tries to do the job fails. And thirdly, and just as important as the other two, is the element of business leadership. I am convinced that if these three groups will team up city by city and take on the local responsibility and have the local initiative, that we will all, 20 years from now, be pretty proud of our towns and of our country.

A GOOD LOOK AT

THE GOVERNMENT IN HOUSING

by Drayton S. Bryant

A review of REGENT PARK: A STUDY IN SLUM CLEARANCE, by Albert Rose, published in 1958 by the University of Toronto Press. Pages x and 242. \$5.50.

Housing is of primary importance, not only to the families who enjoy or endure it, but to the metropolitan ecology and to the national economy. Yet in terms of what our Technology is capable of producing, and in relation to the needs of large sectors of the population, housing in nearly all parts of North America has been deficient in both quantity and quality. The major reasons for this appear to relate to conditions of investment, profitability and the business cycle, boom or bust.

Public intervention has been necessary and will increase as the mechanics of the competitive market for capital and goods fail to keep pace with housing requirements. Public housing is a relative newcomer in both Canada and the United States, with little more than a decade of development in the former and two decades in the latter. It has had surprisingly little broad and objective evaluation. The little research that has been done has generally consisted of bits and parts coupled with interesting case material and broad assertions by both advocates and critics.

REGENT PARK: A STUDY IN SLUM CLEARANCE, was written by a trained social scientist, Dr. Albert Rose of the University of Toronto, who has been active in both initiation and observance over a period of more than 10 years. This book is particularly helpful as a significant start on the kind of research that must be done. It sketches a background of need, legislation and early administrative thinking on the development of public action in the low-rent housing field in Canada. For both Canadians and Americans, it is a useful introduction.

There is a documented description of the local political development behind Toronto's Regent Park — Canada's biggest effort to date in publicly-backed housing. Reference is made to citizen action and to the administrative steps taken. The role of citizen action has too often been neglected or under-estimated, but here it is interwoven with the whole story of development.

Important facts that are available are carefully brought together by the author and clear observations are made on the basis of the work done. It is suspected that the author in his academic capacity had quite a bit to do with encouraging the various pieces of research such as those on family welfare, physical and mental health, juvenile delinquency, tax returns and other changes, such as in the case of municipal services.

The tentative conclusions do not go beyond what might be safely drawn from the fairly small samples and the methods used. This caution is good but serves to illustrate further the pressing need, certainly in the United States, for evaluation of broad scope. There must be a synthesis of many factors and dimensions to estimate the actual human results of such public actions. This full circle evaluation should include those who moved into the new housing and those who did not, those who remained in the public housing and those who went on to buy or rent other homes.

This book could well serve as a basis for similar case studies of other kinds of slum clearance and new construction under varying sets of circumstances. One of its chief values is the close interest and observation of the author himself over a period of more than 10 years. This is seldom equalled elsewhere but is a proper time dimension.

It is hoped that Dr. Rose, with the housing agencies and citizen groups, could instigate and aid in setting up a five-year study of the whole Regent Park operation in terms of both present residents and a somewhat similar control group. Included should be some of the major factors already mentioned: health, mobility, family relations, and economic impact on both the families and the city. A most important additional area for study in the opinion of this writer is evaluation of the community

The Author

Mr. Bryant has been active for 17 years in housing and planning. At present he is on the staff of the Philadelphia Housing Authority. He is active in various renewal efforts in that city, as chairman of a rehabilitation corporation and as a member of the American Friends Service Committee.

Before going to Philadelphia, Mr. Bryant was with the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles and served as Director of Research for the National Housing Conference in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Bryant has also been engaged in writing and lecturing and as a consultant to private housing and cooperatives as well as public agencies. He holds degrees from Stanford and Columbia Universities and is a member of the American Institute of Planners, the American Society of Planning Officials and the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials.

A GOOD LOOK AT THE GOVERNMENT IN HOUSING



Photo: from Dr. Rose's boo



hoto: Robert Turnbul



Photo: from Dr. Rose's bo



Photo: Alan H. Armstron

as a whole, that is, the project and the physically-contiguous neighbourhood with its major facilities, such as schools, churches and shopping, which are used by both the residents of Regent Park and those of neighbouring areas. Strengths and limitations in the formation of a healthy community should be candidly assessed in terms of families selected and changes which can be observed.

The contribution to physical health of more floor space, an adequate heating system in a fire-proof building, private kitchen and bath with proper equipment and storage space, should never be under-estimated. At the same time, family relations, feelings of social status, with hope, initiative and responsibility or lack of these, are intimately related to emotional and physical health. The

future course of public housing will be increasingly a responsibility for effective work with people and aiding in the establishment of a viable community.

This is not a philosophy of paternalism but of realism based on considerable management and community organization experience of the writer. Decisions on physical design are, of course, financial decisions, but they also have a strong impact on the social structure and the individual psychology. This last area must receive increasing importance in understanding the movement and adjustment of all the families who are part of a metropolitan total.

SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

Eric Beecroft, National Director of the Community Planning Association of Canada, took the rash step of encouraging this reviewer to extend his comment beyond the book. The reader is hereby warned and the field is opened.

The similarities of problems and at the same time, the differences in approach and results are of much interest to housing officials in the United States. As a mature citizen can gain fresh insight into his own cultural patterns from fresh contacts with any different group, so also a civic leader, administrator or policy thinker concerned with urban housing can benefit from an extensive history and evaluation, such as REGENT PARK. In this development, as in the United States, there was the problem of constantly rising costs of construction and operation - and hence rents - during an inflationary period, and a pressure to increase both size and density in the project. There were many delays related to the complexities of government by committee and commission and questions of procedure, income and administration.

Some of the shortcomings described strike a familiar note, such as the inadequacies of relocation data, the sometimes unexpected results of applying regulations and procedures to family life, the choice as to physical distribution of apartments to older people. A note about a dedication ceremony on page 82 reminds one that the insolence or indifference of office have persisted past the time of the great Bard, in that those who often have at best done little or obstructed a program, as in the story of the Little Red Hen, are at the head of the line when plaudits are to be handed out.

HIGH SITE COSTS AND DENSITY

It was clear to some of the leaders working for the new housing in Toronto that densities on the land must be controlled even in the face of high site costs. This recognition has not yet received legislative form in the United States, although it has been recommended that the costs of site acquisition for public low-rent housing be separated from limits on costs of construction per dwelling or per room. That is, the total cost of site acquisition should in no way determine the new number

of dwellings. This latter in all large urban areas should reflect decent minimum standards of livability for families of different size and age group with a comprehensive metropolitan plan as a general framework. How to achieve the latter is a wide open question in the United States since local initiative is bogged down by suburban caste fears of minority and low-status population. Disproportionate electoral systems hold back action in State legislatures where rural up-state voters greatly outweigh large cities, or at the national level where farmers, fish and game, or transportation companies receive far more interest and budget than the major center cities. It is hoped that the Toronto pioneering will serve as a beacon for progress along the path which all of the metropolitan areas must follow after some fashion.

THE PHILADELPHIA APPROACH

The City of Philadelphia, its Planning Commission and Housing and Redevelopment Authorities, have made significant beginnings along some of the lines recommended above. A first requirement has been the extensive revival of interest in effective local government and an outstanding will on the part of two Mayors, Joseph Clark and Richardson Dilworth, to develop an effective team and program for urban renewal. The Development Coordinator, William Rafsky, and members of the Inter-Agency Committee, of which he is Chairman, have worked together to stimulate much of the thinking and beginnings which have been made. The City Council has had a steady interest in and support of renewal programs of all sorts, including city low-rent housing.

The Philadelphia Housing Authority recently originated a scattered site, where 185 row homes with a few small apartments will be built on 10 locations within what later became a redevelopment area. Here redevelopment funds, Federal and local, will be used to purchase part of the land for public housing, for removal of commercial nuisances, straightening of streets, and other purposes aimed at the strengthening of the entire 85 acre section. A local Settlement House took strong initiative throughout the planning of this new and special approach of careful selective surgery.

Very small groups of homes to be built by the Housing Authority include 19 row homes on one street in a stable neighborhood and 24 apartments on a corner in another neighborhood. Several developments have included one or more tall elevator buildings for the childless or smaller families and two-storey rows for the 3, 4, and 5 bedroom homes. Good open space, land-scaping and community facilities have been possible as a result of the combination high and low buildings in spite of high site acquisition costs. Redevelopment financial aid was essential and was used for five sites. Efficiency apartments in one case, four on a corridor sharing a single balcony, have been designed for single persons 65 and over for the first time. Balconies for outdoor living space are now included in the construction of

most high apartment buildings. A program has been started to purchase and renovate existing modest single row homes to house larger families.

City-wide and neighborhood civic groups have played an outstanding part in reviewing policy, participating in public hearings, serving on advisory committees, agreeing or disagreeing but continuing to participate in the development of policy and programs. A recently issued report of a joint study by the Philadelphia Housing Association and Citizens' Council on City Planning summarizes problems and recommended next steps in public housing. This steady concern and communication has played a role of great significance in the development of this city's initiative and teamwork. Characteristic results are increasing concern for people, attention to quality, smallness of scale, and willingness to experiment.

CANNED SLOGANS OF ATTACK

Canadians will be interested to know that such slogans as those found opposite page 99 in Regent Park are identical with those used during recent years in California, Texas, Wisconsin and at least several dozen communities — like "Can you afford to pay someone else's rent?" and "socialized housing", used to confuse the public interest. This reviewer made a study of such prepared material when he was associated with the National Housing Conference in Washington, D.C., and aided in preparing a booklet for local citizen groups called Winning the Fight for Better Housing. Some realty boards in the United States, associated groups, and those who prepared the slogans for them, spread the same cartoons, stereotypes and cliches throughout the nation and apparently Canada.

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN REGENT PARK

Public low-rent housing in some of the big cities in the United States is under mounting criticism for vandalism, dreariness and social disorder. Among the factors which have given rise to this criticism have been an increasing proportion of families of heavily-disadvantaged minority backgrounds, manless families or those on public assistance of various sorts, who have been moving into public housing. At the same time, resident families who have improved themselves to lower middle income status or aspirations have moved out steadily during the past decade, in many cases to purchase homes. This last trend is a good and intended purpose of low-rent housing. However, the steadily-rising proportion of depressed and many-problemed families has resulted in increasing difficulties for stable families, management and surrounding communities. These trends give rise to the writer's conviction that public housing is forced to take more responsibility for understanding and assisting community health, that revisions in the national legislation are necessary to allow a greater spread of income, and that developments of smaller size and density are essential to aid in developing desirable and normal community processes. The most attractive and approved developments of the 900 local housing authorities in 44 of the United States have been in medium or smaller sized communities.

The Regent Park project reportedly has only a tiny proportion of families receiving public assistance, of manless families, and those with many problems. This is a result apparently of the relatively higher incomes and rents or at least a wider range than is true of American public housing. Also, there was a clear determination by the local housing agency that families which will clearly be a disturbance to the neighbors in one way or another should not be accepted. This higher selectivity and broader range to choose from has resulted in more nearly a diversified and functioning community.

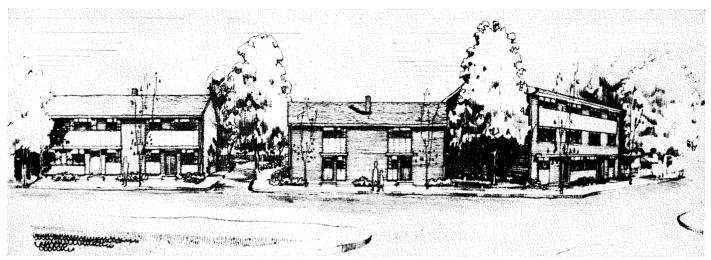
The actual research materials which were available to Dr. Rose were more than have been gathered for most public housing developments in the United States, where almost nothing of this sort has been done. Local housing authorities have no research budgets. However, it should be pointed out that the samples at Regent Park were small, the evaluations not done in great depth or in relation to other characteristics, so that only preliminary observations are justified. Delinquency data would be better expressed in rates per thousand of population than in small numbers of cases. Unless done over a considerable period of time and with a similar control group in toto, little can be proved except that tenants for the new housing were carefully selected. Statistics would be helpful for further study on total turnover since initial occupancy. This would include the annual rate, by dwelling size, family type, reason for leaving and income group. More data as to background of occupants will be helpful as to ethnic group, occupation and family

As suggested above, a whole new area for further evaluation is on group processes as part of community building, that is, the sources and nature of leadership, the achievements and the shortcomings. What mechanisms were there for tenant expression? Both constructive and negative expression as well should be included. The whole process can be constructive, even including the negativisms which disturb so many management people.

Other related areas for continued evaluation are measures of tenant responsibility, such as interior painting of their own dwellings, flower boxes and window treatment, furniture purchase, maintenance, and that bedrock of respectability, payment of rent and other financial obligations. The social role of management exists willy-nilly and should be evaluated so that the role may be best played. The personalities of management personnel have often spread good feeling and responsibility, or, too often, disturbance and antagonism.

A SLUM AREA SHOULD BE STUDIED TOO

Slums have more social strengths than are realized by persons not familiar with the range of mutual assistance and emotional support. The evils are obvious and fre-



HAVERFORD APARTMENTS in Philadelphia. Architect: David Morgan.

quently deplored. But to aid in building a competent new community structure and making those early decisions in design, finance and procedure which will assist toward that goal, the study of community should include both the new and the old to the extent to which comparability may be found.

New housing, government-aided, high rent or suburban psychic-equity, is like a marriage license - an opportunity for a new type of existence but no guarantee of bliss. Seriously, the physical shelter has a tremendous impact for better or for worse. The basic accomplishments of good shelter need to be told again and again - more space, safety, heat, privacy, a chance for decent existence. At the same time, it is a foundation for an evolving social structure. The patterns of generations of families existed before, exist at the time of moving into the new housing and will persist among occupants. The reviewer would agree with the principal conclusion of the book that in his experience also, most of the people who move into the new public housing respond either immediately or slowly, but mostly positively with a definitely observable improvement over a considerable period of time. Both the community and the families are markedly better off. Dr. Rose's comments on unrealistic, exaggerated, or contradictory expectations of results from moving into good shelter are well taken. Yet he is properly strong in asserting the appropriate interest of government in the health and opportunity of all the people, for in this lies the principal justification for government actions to stimulate the improvement of housing in quantity and price, especially to aid in the community interest those most handicapped as to housing.

The next steps in public housing lie along the way of increased understanding and effectiveness in building a community. These neighborhoods and larger communities, still an important fact even in our most mobile age, are variable building blocks within the whole evolution of metropolitan urban areas. Why should a democracy be concerned about decent housing? The following statement attempts a short answer and food for thought.

Charter of Good Housing

Through strong individual effort, Americans have made their homes a cornerstone upon which have been built our communities and nation. Today, in our communities, decent homes and good neighborhoods are basic concerns of democracy and a society which values people.

Adequate homes according to present standards are crucial to the happiness, health and citizenship of all our families, and especially to children, along with the love, citizenship and faith learned in each home. Bad housing conditions, where they persist, tear down all that is sought as good by most families. Proper housing is critical also to the future of all our cities, morally, legally and financially.

We will build our cities better by effective teamwork of all public agencies, private enterprise and civic organizations. Concern and participation by people of each neighborhood will best achieve their progress toward the common goals of our city and nation. And through building our communities and nation well, by and for all families, can we best take part in the world search for well-being and peace.

Signed by the Mayor and 40 others and placed in the cornerstone of a new housing development, Philadelphia, Pa., 1953.

PROBLÈMES MÉTROPOLITAINS

Mr. Campeau's English summary is on pages 57-58.

par C.-E. Campeau

Une conférence donnée par M. C.-E. Campeau, ing. p., député de Saint-Jacques, Montréal, devant un groupe d'hommes d'affaires du centre de la ville, au Club Canadien de Montréal, le 11 févier, 1958. M. Campeau est président national de l'Association Canadienne d'Urbanisme.

Il est assez curieux de constater le véritable dilemne auquel font face les citoyens du Grand Montréal. Tous formulent de grands espoirs pour l'avenir de l'agglomération montréalaise. Ils désirent et réclament de meilleures rues, de meilleures routes, des autostrades, de grands garages et de grands parcs de stationnement, un système de transport en commun desservant efficacement toutes les parties de la région, des normes améliorées de construction et de zonage, des services adéquats d'égout et d'aqueduc, la prévention de la pollution des eaux par l'aménagement d'un réseau d'usines d'épuration, des services améliorés de bien-être et de récréation, une protection uniforme efficace contre les incendies et la criminalité. Cependant, leurs aspirations sont loin d'être satisfaites en réalité, et, plus souvent qu'autrement ils sont à même de constater qu'ils paient cher pour la qualité des services qu'ils obtiennent. Face à leurs aspirations, ils trouvent une multitude d'autorités locales et constatent qu'à aucune d'elles ils ne peuvent confier la protection de leurs intérêts communs, la réalisation de leurs désirs et leur détermination à doter la région métropolitaine de ces grands travaux publics qui font l'orgueuil de Toronto et des grandes villes aniéricaines. Tous réalisent que de fait ils ne disposent présentement d'aucun moyen efficace par lequel les facilités et les services requis peuvent être conçus, coordonnés, financés et administrés effectivement sur une base régionale.

Il est donc naturel que les citoyens de la région de Montréal se sentent confus, et d'autant plus qu'ils ont pleinement conscience que, plus la région métropolitaine se développe rapidement, plus se prolongent et s'accentuent ces manques dommageables, résultant de l'incapacité où ils sont d'agir collectivement comme une seule et même entité.

Il est curieux de noter également la confusion qui règne dans les esprits quant aux moyens à prendre pour atteindre ce résultat. Les solutions proposées sont de l'inertie totale à la fusion intégrale de toutes les unités politiques existantes. Il semble que le motif principal de cette confusion provient du fait qu'on se laisse embrouiller par les apparences. On prend les cadres créés par les hommes pour des besoins fondamentaux, alors qu'en

réalité ces cadres n'existent qu'en vertu de besoins humains à satisfaire. La réalité c'est l'ensemble de ces besoins humains, alors que les cadres ne sont que des outils pour apporter une solution appropriée à ces besoins. De façon à faciliter l'application des solutions, on a tendance à limiter ces cadres — c'est humain. Ce qu'il ne faut pas oublier en partant c'est que l'homme existe avant les cadres et que ces cadres n'ont de justification qu'en autant qu'ils répondent aux besoins de ces hommes.

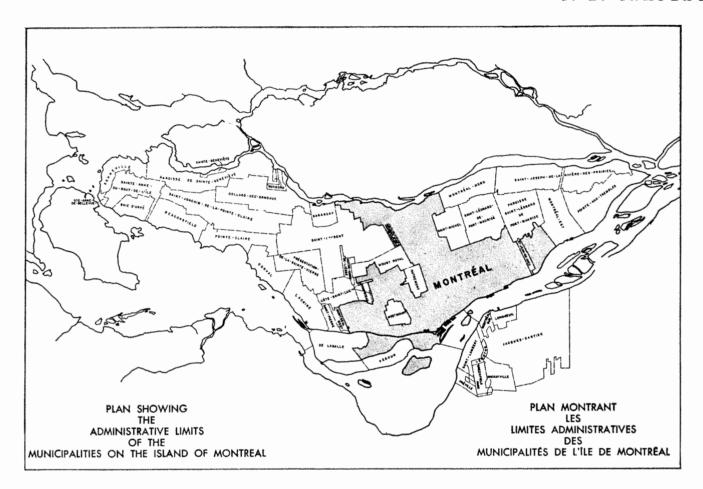
BESOINS MÉTROPOLITAINS

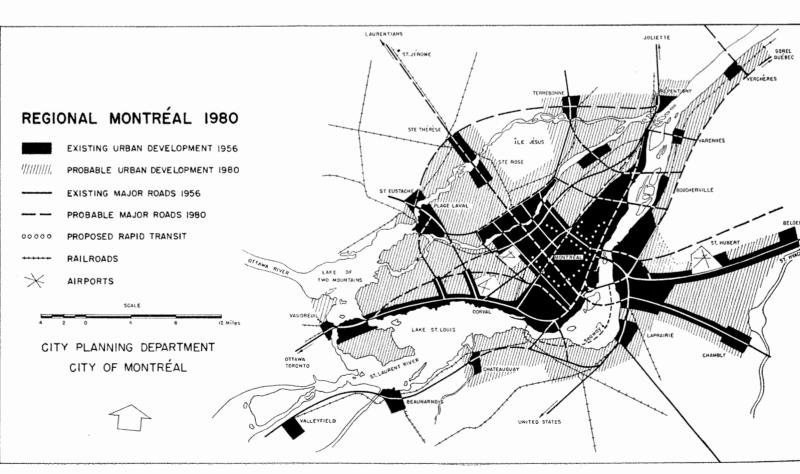
Partout où de grandes masses de population viennent s'accumuler dans une région, elles requièrent bientôt des services publics dont l'organisation, l'exploitation, l'entretien et le financement présentent des problèmes de plus en plus complexes au fur et à mesure que cette population continue d'augmenter et d'occuper des sites de plus en plus éloignés de la cité centrale où le développement a débuté.

La vie moderne augmente le nombre de ces besoins de l'homme et élargit l'aire de leur satisfaction. D'importants secteurs de l'activité humaine exigent un élargissement des cadres qui les soutiennent, la vie économique provoquant l'existence de régions complexes articulées les unes aux autres.

Les grandes villes comme Montréal sont toutes des centres d'influence et d'unification pour les territoires où elles sont situées. Elles deviennent les chefs-lieux de nombreux développements satellites établis dans l'orbite de leur influence économique. Or le mouvement de décentralisation, commencé avec l'avènement de l'automobile par les citadins cherchant à fuir la congestion et les taxes, n'a cessé de s'accroître. De plus en plus, les industries sont à la recherche de sites à l'extérieur des noyaux urbains et provoquent ainsi des déplacements de main-d'œuvre.

Ces problèmes se compliquent davantage du moment qu'ils débordent le cadre des limites politiques de chacune des corporations municipales de l'agglomération urbaine. Bien que théoriquement, il soit relativement simple de pourvoir aux services publics requis par l'ensemble de la





population de la région, il s'avère en pratique très difficile, sinon impossible de trouver une solution appropriée dans le cadre des juridictions des multiples corporations municipales existantes de la région, lesquelles possèdent chacune des pouvoirs administratifs ne dépassant pas les limites de leur propre territoire, et, par le fait même, ne disposent que de sources de revenus trop restreintes pour faire face à des dépenses capitales de grande envergure.

Cependant, il n'y a aucun doute qu'au fur et à mesure que l'agglomération métropolitaine grandit, il lui faut fatalement résoudre des problèmes qui dépassent les cadres de chacune des corporations municipales et qui exigent une solution générale selon des normes et un programme uniques pour toute la région. De plus, ces problèmes d'importance auxquels doit faire face toute la région métropolitaine sont d'une nature telle que le financement de leur solution ne peut s'effectuer qu'en mettant en commun toutes les ressources financières de cette région. Malheureusement, la division du territoire métropolitain en multiples corporations municipales divise du même coup les ressources de la région au point de vue financier.

LA SITUATION ACTUELLE AU POINT DE VUE DES PROBLÈMES MÉTROPOLITAINS

L'existence de ces problèmes métropolitains est tellement évidente dans la région de Montréal qu'on a déjà cherché à leur apporter une solution par divers moyens, qui ont eu leur efficacité, mais toujours dans un domaine bien déterminé, laissant sans solution l'ensemble des autres besoins métropolitains.

Au fur et à mesure que ces problèmes métropolitains se sont présentés et ont exercé une pression dommageable sur nombre de groupes de citoyens, il a bien fallu leur apporter une solution quelconque. De 1890 à 1920, soit pendant plus d'une génération, nombre des problèmes métropolitains de cette époque ont été résolus d'une façon permanente grâce aux nombreuses annexions que la Cité de Montréal a effectuées, absorbant du même coup les énormes dettes contractées par des municipalités indépendantes. La Cité de Montréal a ainsi sauvé de la banqueroute ces municipalités qui avaient essayé de donner à leurs citoyens des services indispensables mais non justifiés en regard de leur capacité financière. Depuis 1920, et même avant, la Cité de Montréal a conclu diverses ententes avec les municipalités de la région métropolitaine pour la fourniture des services publics. Ainsi par exemple, 15 municipalités de l'île utilisent 19 égouts collecteurs construits par la Cité de Montréal et ont donné lieu à 12 contrats et 14 ordonnances de la Régie provinciale des Services Publics. La Cité de Montréal fournit l'eau à 18 municipalités. La Cité de Montréal prête souvent le concours de ses pompiers à plusieurs municipalités environnantes. La Commission de Transport de Montréal, dont le financement des emprunts est

garanti par la Cité de Montréal seulement, dessert la plupart des municipalités de la région métropolitaine, y compris certaines municipalités de la rive sud. La Commission Métropolitaine de Montréal a été créée pour qu'un contrôle financier soit exercé par une autorité centrale sur 14 municipalités de la région métropolitaine. On lui a de plus donné le pouvoir de réaliser un boulevard traversant toute l'île de Montréal. Enfin une taxe de vente s'applique dans le territoire de la Commission Métropolitaine de Montréal et est distribuée entre ces municipalités proportionnellement à leur population.

Cependant, l'expérience prouve que toutes ces mesures qui étaient nécessaires pour régler des problèmes métropolitains particuliers, n'ont été que des expédients, puisqu'elles n'ont eu pour effet que de résoudre chacune un problème particulier à un moment donné, en laissant sans solution nombre d'autres problèmes qui existaient déjà et nombre d'autres qui se sont présentés depuis, comme par exemple la canalisation du Saint-Laurent et l'industrialisation intensive de certaines parties de la région métropolitaine, la circulation et l'accès à l'île de Montréal par ponts ou tunnels, l'industrie du taxi, l'inspection des aliments, l'urbanisme, etc.

Il est évident qu'il n'y a pas présentement de plan de coordination métropolitaine dans la région de Montréal, grâce auquel on pourrait mettre en œuvre et intégrer les entreprises de caractère métropolitain de façon à obtenir la plus grande efficacité possible en évitant les dépenses résultant de doublements inutiles, inévitables sans une solution d'ensemble.

Comment d'ailleurs une région métropolitaine divisée en 37 corporations municipales, sans compter les 19 de la rive sud et les 12 de l'Île Jésus, peut-elle résoudre des problèmes de nature métropolitaine, dans un semblable labyrinthe d'autorités qui se juxtaposent, sans recourir à un moyen efficace de consolidation des fonctions métropolitaines?

CONSÉQUENCE DE LA SITUATION ACTUELLE DANS LA RÉGION MÉTROPOLITAINE DE MONTRÉAL

Il est évident qu'aucune des corporations municipales de la région, sauf Montréal, n'a l'équipement administratif et les revenus requis pour faire face aux problèmes métropolitains qui prennent une importance sans cesse grandissante. Bien plus, ces corporations municipales ne peuvent même plus régler adéquatement leurs problèmes locaux, dans certains cas, faute de normes uniformes, faute d'une coordination au niveau métropolitain, faute de services métropolitains, et faute de revenus suffisants.

Cependant, aucune des corporations municipales ne peut s'isoler et chacun de ses actes, que ce soit d'action ou d'omission, affecte non seulement ses propres citoyens mais souvent tous les citoyens de la région métropolitaine. En effet, tous les citoyens de la région sont liés dans une entité commune par l'industrie, les services pub-



Les approches de la rive sud du Pont Jacques-Cartier - Ville de Longueui,

Photo: Armour Landry

lics, les institutions sociales et culturelles, les systèmes de transport et de communication, les intérêts communs résultant des besoins communs et un sens non équivoque de solidarité sociale.

Le manque d'unité dans les programmes et les traitements adoptés par les diverses corporations municipales ne peut que plonger dans la confusion le citoyen moyen, encourager l'irresponsabilité politique au niveau métropolitain, empêcher la coordination des efforts entre les groupes locaux et enfin provoquer une compétition malheureuse pour les revenus disponibles entre ces divers groupes locaux.

Il n'y a pas l'ombre d'un doute que, dans une société démocratique, une organisation ne peut fonctionner normalement pendant une longue période de temps, si, parmi ses membres, ceux qui retirent le plus de bénéfices échappent aux obligations que la vie commune impose, et si, par contre, ceux qui retirent le moins de bénéfices, au point de vue des nécessités et des aménités de la vie, sont laissés seuls pour supporter le fardeau des responsabilités civiques et surtout le fardeau des charges financières.

Ainsi par exemple, beaucoup de services publics sont entièrement défrayés par les citoyens de Montréal mais desservent plusieurs corporations municipales environnantes. On pourrait nommer à ce titre le service d'inspection des aliments, l'Office de l'Initiative Economique et Touristique, le Service d'Urbanisme, certains grands parcs, comme le Mont-Royal, la Bibliothèque Municipale, le Golf municipal, les ponts Viau et Lachapelle et le pont Jacques-Cartier, les tunnels sous le Canal Lachine, les contributions aux hôpitaux et aux universités, le Bien-être Social, etc.

LA NÉCESSITÉ D'UN SYSTÈME ADMINISTRATIF MÉTROPOLITAIN

Il n'y a pas l'ombre d'un doute qu'il est nécessaire d'établir un système d'administration métropolitaine pour Montréal et ses environs.

On a souvent parlé de coopération volontaire comme une alternative valable. Cependant, les faits permettent de constater que jusqu'à date ce système de coopération, loin de faire disparaître les anomalies, n'a réussi qu'à les multiplier, car il n'a fait qu'encourager le morcellement des juridictions dans la région avec ses conséquences de duplications des services essentiels et de pertes économiques concomitantes. En continuant de traiter la région métropolitaine comme un simple groupement de municipalités indépendantes, nous laissons tout simplement de côté les grandes réalités d'aujourd'hui qui ne cadrent plus avec ces limites administratives que nous a léguées une époque révolue. On ne peut tout de même laisser de côté les conséquences de cette augmentation fantastique de la population dans l'immédiate banlieue de la Cité de Montréal, avec les problèmes résultant du déplacement de centaines de mille personnes à tous les jours, venant gagner leur vie à Montréal et allant payer leurs taxes dans les municipalités environnantes. Ce phénomène de croissance fait ressortir davantage le fait que les limites administratives existantes ne font qu'accroître cette injustice de la taxation, le besoin de services dont le coût ne peut se défrayer par les taxes restreintes de la banlieue, la nécessité de partager les dépenses entre tous les citoyens qui bénéficient de ces services, et l'urgence d'un plan d'ensemble d'urbanisme et de circulation.

Il est indispensable d'assurer d'abord la consolidation des fonctions vraiment métropolitaines de la région, et ensuite de créer une structure administrative appropriée ayant autorité sur toute la région métropolitaine de façon à donner une solution appropriée à ces problèmes affectant l'ensemble de cette région. C'est ainsi seulement qu'il sera possible d'en arriver à l'exécution de réseaux uniformes et intégrés de services métropolitains et surtout de répartir équitablement le fardeau des dépenses d'intérêt général entre les diverses parties de la région métropolitaine. Quant aux problèmes purement locaux, les corporations municipales existantes possèdent tout ce qu'il faut pour les résoudre efficacement et il y a des motifs sérieux pour maintenir en existence et en opération ces municipalités.

LES ÉLÉMENTS DE SOLUTION

Il n'est pas question de former une énorme organisation de contrôle constituée d'administrateurs éloignés des réalités. Il s'agit au contraire de créer un système dans lequel tous les composants garderont une autonomie proportionnée à leur véritable importance, dans lequel seuls les problèmes d'ensemble seront résolus en commun, dans lequel les problèmes domestiques resteront le fait de chacun des corps autonomes, dans lequel les dépenses et profits seront répartis équitablement sur tous ceux qui sont réellement concernés, dans lequel enfin les ressources financières disponibles seront mises en commun pour assurer la réalisation de ces grandes entreprises indispensables au progrès de l'ensemble des municipalités faisant partie intégrante de la région.

Ce système administratif métropolitain doit s'étendre à tout le territoire géographique socialement et économiquement dépendant du même centre urbain et de ses activités commerciales, industrielles et culturelles.

Les services publics suivants tombent naturellement sous l'autorité métropolitaine: égouts collecteurs et usines d'épuration; système de prise d'eau, de traitement, de réservoirs et de distribution de l'eau potable; artères principales de circulation, ponts et tunnels; incendie et police; pollution de l'air; cliniques, nursing et inspection des aliments; grands parcs régionaux; urbanisme et initiative économique; défense civile; transport en commun; incinérateurs; estimation de la propriété foncière.

Les dépenses relatives à ces services métropolitains doivent être distribuées entre les municipalités concernées au prorata de l'évaluation municipale, établie sur une base uniforme pour toute la région métropolitaine. Les emprunts requis pour dépenses capitales seront évidemment garantis par l'ensemble des évaluations et des revenus de la région métropolitaine.

Il est évident qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de passer brusquement d'un système à un autre. Au contraire, il est préférable de procéder par étapes, assurant une transition efficace et permettant une intégration graduelle des fonctions métropolitaines sur un territoire de plus en plus étendu, au fur et à mesure des possibilités physiques, financières et administratives.

L'EXEMPLE DES AUTRES

L'exemple des autres est toujours bon à considérer pour en tirer la leçon de choses qu'il comporte.

Après quatre ans d'existence, le gouvernement métropolitain a amplement prouvé son efficacité à Toronto. Ce mode d'administration a sauvé du chaos une vaste zone de banlieues, a fourni des services absolument indispensables à plusieurs communautés satellites sans pour autant leur enlever leur identité et, en même temps, a permis à une grande ville d'envisager l'avenir avec quelque espoir d'éviter la banqueroute et l'ultime décrépitude. Si l'on se base sur des critères tels que la population, le commerce de détails, le nombre de chèques encaissés et le construction, Toronto est une des villes grandissant le plus rapidement sur le continent.

Il y a plus de soixante ans, la ville de Boston, se basant sur des arguments similaires à ceux que l'on entend aujourd'hui à Montréal, se refusa un gouvernement métropolitain, au moment où la ville de New York émergeait agrandie de la fusion de cinq "boroughs". On sait la désintégration économique qu'a subie Boston par la suite comparativement à New York.

On pourrait multiplier ces exemples tant en Europe qu'en Amérique.

L'AVENIR DE MONTRÉAL

Ceux qui croient qu'il n'y a pas lieu de s'émouvoir, vu que Montréal a atteint un point de saturation ultime et ne peut plus grandir davantage, oublient que la province de Québec ne fait que débuter dans une phase d'industrialisation gigantesque comme jamais il ne s'en est produit dans le passé.

La situation actuelle de Montréal est loin d'être statique. Montréal connaît présentement une croissance dynamique qui ne s'annonce pas comme devant finir bientôt.

Ne perdons pas de vue qu'au cours des prochains 25 ans, c'est une population additionnelle de 25,000 personnes par année qu'il faudra loger et équiper municipalement dans la région de Montréal. N'oublions pas que la canalisation du Saint-Laurent sera terminée l'an prochain, que la région de Verchères ne cesse de s'industrialiser et que l'on parle de plus en plus sérieusement d'améliorer la route maritime Richelieu-Lac Champlain.

C'est seulement par une administration métropolitaine approuvée que chacun des citoyens de la région du Grand Montréal pourra se sentir le citoyen d'une grande et puissante agglomération urbaine. Si chacun de nous désire conserver à la région de Montréal son titre de

Métropole du Canada, il faut lui donner les moyens nécessaires pour tirer plein bénéfice de ses énormes avantages naturels et ainsi lui permettre de faire concurrence à armes égales aux autres grands centres du Canada et des Etats-Unis. La région de Montréal groupe maintenant près de 1,700,000 citoyens et ainsi prend rang parmi les grandes capitales commerciales et politiques du monde. Nous en rendons-nous compte suffisamment pour sacrifier nos petits intérêts locaux devant les grands intérêts métropolitains à la base du véritable progrès? La solution réside dans l'acceptation des responsabilités que la grandeur de notre région impose à chacun de nous.

Le gouvernement provincial vient de démontrer qu'il s'intéresse tout particulièrement au sort de Montréal, en posant un geste qui constitue la première étape pratique dans l'établissement d'une administration véritablement métropolitaine. C'est à nous maintenant de prendre nos responsabilités.

Metropolitan Problems

by C. E. Campeau, M.P.

Mr. Campeau's English summary of his address given before a group of downtown business men at the Canadian Club of Montreal, February 11, 1958. Mr. Campeau, who was at that time Director of the City Planning Department of Montreal, is now Member of Parliament for St. James. He has been National President of the Community Planning Association of Canada since October 1956.

Citizens of Greater Montreal are in a veritable dilemma. They build great hopes for the future. They want better streets, better highways, better expressways, great parking garages and car parks, a fast mass transportation system to serve efficiently every part of the region, improved zoning and building standards, adequate sewerage and water supply, the prevention of water pollution by provision of a network of purification plants, improved welfare and recreation services, a uniform and effective system of fire and police protection.

But their aspirations are far from realization. They find that they have a multiplicity of local authorities and that they cannot rely upon any of them to protect their common interests — the realization of those great public works which are the pride of the great American cities. They realize that in fact they do not have at their disposal any adequate means by which the facilities they require can be planned, coordinated, financed and administered effectively on a regional basis.

It is natural therefore that the people of the Montreal region should feel confused, especially as they come to

realize fully that as the metropolitan region develops rapidly the lack of means to cope with it becomes exceedingly injurious to the entire population.

There is also great confusion of mind as to the steps to be taken. Much of the difficulty arises from the fact that man forgets that the structures created in the past were for the satisfaction of human needs and that they remain justified only as long as they respond to such needs.

Metropolitan Needs

Modern life has brought new wants to be satisfied and it demands a great enlargement of the machinery to sustain our activities. Economic life today has created a great complex of interrelated regional activities. Great cities like Montreal are centres of influence and of unification for the territories around them. The movement of decentralization, begun with the advent of the automobile and the citizen's desire to get away from congestion and taxes, has not abated. More and more, industries are seeking locations away from the urban core and are thus provoking the dispersal of the working population.

Necessity of a Metropolitan Administrative System

To accomplish the objectives already described, a system of metropolitan administration is absolutely essential for Montreal and the surrounding areas.

As one remedy, voluntary cooperation is often mentioned. But the facts show that, up to the present, the system of cooperation, far from having eliminated the anomalies, has operated to multiply them; for it only encourages the fragmentation of jurisdictions in the region, producing the duplication of essential services with resulting economic loss. By continuing to treat the metropolitan region as only a group of independent municipalities, we are simply putting aside the great modern realities which no longer square with those administrative boundaries inherited from a past epoch. We cannot afford to ignore the fantastic increase of population in the immediate environment of Montreal, with the problems arising from the movement of hundreds of thousands of people daily, coming to earn their living in the central city, but paying their taxes in the surrounding municipalities. Under these circumstances, the existing administrative boundaries aggravate the injustice of taxation. Great works cannot be undertaken until their cost can be divided between those who will benefit from them.

As to purely local problems, the existing municipalities have the authority needed to solve them effectively, and there are important reasons for maintaining these municipalities in existence.

Elements of a Solution

There is no reason to establish an enormous controlling organization of administrators removed from realities. On the contrary, what is needed is a system in which only the common problems will be resolved by common means; in which the domestic problems will remain the responsibility of the local bodies; in which the profits and expenses will be divided equitably among all those truly concerned; in which the available financial resources will be used to assure the carrying out of those enterprises which are indispensable to the progress of the entire metropolitan area.

The Metropolitan administrative system should extend to the geographic territory which is socially and economically dependent upon a common urban centre and its commercial, industrial and cultural activities.

The following public services fall naturally under the metropolitan authority: collector sewers and sewage disposal

plants; water supply and treatment; the principal traffic arteries and bridges and tunnels; fire and police protection; air pollution; health clinics and food inspection; regional parks; planning; industrial and trade promotion; civil defence; mass transport; incinerators; assessment of real property.

The costs of these metropolitan services should be distributed between the municipalities concerned in proportion to the municipal assessment, established on a uniform basis for the whole metropolitan region. Borrowings required for capital costs would of course be guaranteed by the total assessments and revenues of the metropolitan region.

It is not necessary to move suddenly from one system to another. On the contrary, it is better to proceed by steps, assuming an effective transition and allowing a gradual integration of metropolitan functions over a more and more extended area, in accordance with physical, financial and administrative possibilities.

Montreal's Future

Those who believe that there is no place to go, because Montreal has reached the ultimate saturation point and can grow no more, forget that the Province of Quebec is only in the first stage of a gigantic industrialization such as we have never seen in the past.

Let us not lose sight of the fact that during the next 25 years, an annual increase of population of 25,000 will have to be lodged and served municipally in the Montreal region. Let us not forget that the canalization of the St. Lawrence River will be completed next year, that the Verchères region is being highly industrialized and that there is more and more serious talk of improving the Richelieu-Lake Champlain route to the sea.

It is only through an appropriate metropolitan administration that the citizen of the Greater Montreal region will be able to realize a sense of citizenship in a great and powerful urban centre. With almost 1,700,000 citizens, this region now ranks among the great commercial and political capitals of the world. Can we not bring ourselves to sacrifice our small local interests for the greater metropolitan interest in genuine progress? The solution lies in accepting the responsibilities which the grandeur of our Greater Montreal region imposes upon each of us.



Le Lac-aux-Castors dans le parc Mont-Royal. Beaver Lake in Mount Royal Park.

Photo: Henri Paul

MONTRÉAL LA MAGNIFIQUE

par Claude Robillard

Montréal est la plus belle ville du monde. Ses larges avenues bordées d'arbres, ses nombreuses places publiques aux proportions harmonieuses, ses nobles monuments judicieusement situés, ses édifices publics de grand style, ses vastes parcs bien distribués et agréablement aménagés, ses promenades fleuries, le chant de ses fontaines, la paix et la tranquillité de ses quartiers résidentiels, la belle ordonnance de ses zones commerciales et industrielles font l'admiration de tous ses visiteurs et la fierté de tous ceux qui ont le bonheur de l'habiter.

Ai-je besoin de continuer ma description en y ajoutant la circulation bien réglée, le stationnement bien organisé et la neige enlevée des rues presque avant même d'être tombée pour vous faire dire que je parle peut-être de ce que sera Montréal demain — ou après-demain — mais sûrement pas de ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui.

Une causerie prononcée par M. Robillard, directeur des parcs de la ville de Montréal, au Quart d'heure Concordia du poste CKAC, Montréal, le 10 mars 1958.

"Montréal la magnifique", c'est évidemment difficile à prononcer sans sourire, ou sans pleurer, quand on songe à nos "beaux" escaliers, aux taudis qui se construisent encore en série, aux approches du pont Jacques-Cartier, à la "cuisine d'été" de l'hôtel de ville, à l'intersection Pine et Park et à cent autres, de cinq heures à sept, à la pauvre reine Victoria isolée sur son piédestal au milieu des parcomètres, de l'asphalte et des vespasiennes, aux panneaux-réclame et aux enseignes de néon du boulevard Décarie, à la salle de concert qui n'existe pas encore, au jardin zoologique qui n'est pas encore construit, aux gares d'autobus et aux réservoirs à mélasse qui s'élèvent dans les parcs et aux parcs qui se vendent à toutes sortes de bonnes œuvres pour toutes sortes de mauvaises raisons.

Mais "Montréal la magnifique", il n'est pourtant pas impossible de s'imaginer que cela pourrait exister et que



"La pauvre reine Victoria . . . au milieu des parcomètres".

ce qui est peut-être sans espoir ailleurs est parfaitement réalisable ici.

Y a-t-il au monde beaucoup d'autres villes qui aient dans leur jeu des atouts comme le Mont-Royal, le Saint-Laurent, l'île Ste-Hélène, 3000 acres d'espaces libres publics, un passé riche de traditions, deux des plus grandes cultures occidentales, le rôle de métropole d'un pays immense aux richesses incalculables et à peine entamées?

Pourquoi Montréal ne serait-elle pas une ville magnifique? C'est en partant d'un marécage que les Vénitiens ont créé la perle de l'Adriatique. Ce n'est pas avec la superbe île Ste-Hélène, mais avec la minuscule île Saint-Louis, ce n'est pas avec le Mont-Royal mais avec la butte de Montmartre, ce n'est pas avec le Saint-Laurent majestueux mais avec la petite Seine que les Parisiens ont bâti la Ville Lumière.

Faut-il rappeler qu'à Venise et à Paris il a fallu pardessus tout, pour construire deux villes magnifiques, la volonté persévérante de faire beau et de faire grand, il a fallu la fierté des Vénitiens et des Parisiens.

Je me refuse à croire que les Montréalais manquent de fierté et que leur ville va sombrer dans la mesquinerie et l'indifférence.

Il faut des siècles pour bâtir une belle ville. Cette belle ville, si l'on n'y prend pas garde, on peut la détruire, ou la blesser à mort, en quelques années.

La Rome impériale a été une grande cité de deux millions d'habitants et alors le centre de l'univers. La corruption, les impôts, les invasions et l'exode de ses plus riches citoyens qui se retirèrent sur leurs terres la réduisirent au Moyen-Age à une petite ville de 30,000 habitants que même les papes durent quitter temporaire-

ment. Au même moment, Constantinople continuait d'être une belle et grande ville et la maîtresse de la Méditerranée.

Vivre dans une ville florissante, c'est posséder un trésor sur lequel il faut veiller jalousement. Le trésor peut fructifier ou se perdre.

Les villes ne sont pas d'invention récente. On les retrouve dans les plus anciennes civilisations, celles des Aztèques et des Incas, en Chine et aux Indes, en Mésopotamie et en Egypte, donc bien longtemps avant Athènes et Rome.

Les grandes cités modernes étant nées de la révolution industrielle, il est évident que nous aurons de grandes cités tant que nous aurons les grandes industries qui en ont besoin. Ce que nous aurons en elles ce sont des instruments extraordinaires de culture et de progrès, pourvu qu'on sache s'en servir et qu'on n'étrangle pas la poule aux œufs d'or.

Certes, les grandes villes ont de grands problèmes et l'on n'a pas fini de parler des villes-sardines et des agglomérations qui ne sont pas faites pour le bien de leurs habitants. Ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui qu'on s'en inquiète. Déjà en 1672, on interdisait par lettres patentes de construire à Paris au delà des faubourgs, de peur que la capitale "parvenue à une excessive grandeur n'eût le même sort que ces puissantes villes de l'antiquité, qui avaient trouvé en elles-mêmes le principe de leur ruine, étant très difficile que l'ordre et la police se distribuent commodément dans toutes les parties d'un aussi vaste corps."

Les difficultés qui se rencontrent toujours dans les grandes agglomérations n'ont pas empêché les hommes de vouloir toujours en créer d'autres, et ce n'est pas seulement l'instinct grégaire qui les y a poussés. "Heureux les agriculteurs!" écrivait Virgile, et nous le croyons volontiers avec lui. La campagne a son charme et son attrait et c'est même pourquoi nous essayons d'en recréer des morceaux en pleine ville, mais il est évident que ce n'est pas dans le quatrième rang de St-Eleuthère qu'on peut songer à construire un théâtre, une cathédrale, un stade ou un centre d'achat. Les hommes se groupent dans les grandes villes parce que seules les grandes villes permettent la réalisation de certaines conditions de vie. Malgré leurs inconvénients, seules les grandes villes rendent accessible à la majorité de leurs citoyens un niveau élevé de vie culturelle et c'est dans les grandes capitales que les hommes peuvent le mieux s'entraider à perfectionner leur esprit. C'est sans doute pourquoi Montaigne parlait de la cité "commune et universelle".

Je reviens donc à cette idée que vivre dans une grande ville, c'est une chance, mais une chance qu'il ne faut pas laisser perdre. C'est un défi . . . qu'il faut relever. Etre Montréalais, c'est un honneur . . . qu'il faut mériter.

Comme on l'a déjà dit, s'occuper de ses affaires, c'est très recommandable, mais encore faut-il s'en occuper Entrée du pont Jacques Cartier, 5.10 p.m. le 26 mai, 1958.



Photo: Service des Parcs de Montréal

vraiment et activement. Montréal la magnifique, ce sera possible seulement si les Montréalais le veulent et y voient. S'ils n'y voient pas, Montréal magré ses immenses avantages, dépérira.

Sauver Montréal, à mon humble avis, ce n'est pas la transporter dans la banlieue. C'est le coeur de la ville qu'il faut sauver. Montréal cessera d'être une grande ville si ses quartiers du centre deviennent un ramassis inextricable et quasi impénétrable entouré de petits satellites tournoyant à sa périphérie.

Remarquez que la partie est loin d'être perdue. Le médecin qui ausculte Montréal entend certainement dans son stéthoscope des battements qui le rassurent sur le cœur de son patient. Le meilleur symptôme, c'est que l'opinion publique semble actuellement recevoir avec

beaucoup de faveur les divers projets qui sont mis de l'avant pour la régénérescence du centre de la ville. Passons-les brièvement en revue: la place Ville-Marie, le secteur des grands magasins Morgan, le secteur de la salle de concert, un site voisin où pourraient s'installer les bureaux, les studios et les entrepôts de Radio-Canada, et les habitations Jeanne-Mance. Ajoutons à cela l'annonce prochaine, à laquelle faisait récemment allusion un membre du comité exécutif, d'un projet métropolitain réalisable à un coût bien inférieur à celui qu'on avait d'abord envisagé, et ajoutons surtout le projet de l'autostrade est-ouest dont l'administration a fait le premier article de son programme.

Sans aucun doute, Montréal peut être sauvée. Elle le sera par la volonté et la fierté de ses citoyens. La sug-

Montreal the Magnificent

Public favour has been shown to a number of projects for the improvement of the heart of Montreal. This indicates an interest that can make Montreal one of the magnificent cities of the world.

Mr. Robillard cites the plans for Place Ville Marie, the improvements around Morgan's store, the projected Concert Hall and its neighbouring CBC offices and studios, and the Habitations Jeanne-Mance. He refers also to the St. Lawrence River, the 3,000 acres of green spaces, the city's advantages — the Mountain, St. Helen's Island, the traditions and the two great cultures which could be com-

Summary of remarks of Mr. Claude Robillard, Director of Parks of the City of Montrael, on CKAC, March 10, 1958.

bined to make Montreal an outstanding city. The magnificence of Venice, he observes, was built upon a swamp; Paris had only a small hill, a small island, and a small river.

Moving to the suburbs, according to Mr. Robillard, will not save Montreal. It is the heart of the city that must be saved.

Mr. Robillard says that parks are an essential part of a city's beauty and that he is happy to report that many improvements will be made to Montreal's parks as a result of the financial assistance granted by the municipal administration.



Les Jardins des Merveilles dans le parc LaFontaine. Garden of Wonders in LaFontaine Park.

gestion que je vous fais ce soir, c'est qu'elle le soit magnifiquement. Qu'est-ce qu'une chose magnifique? C'est une chose qu'on fait grande, qu'on voit grande. Vous savez comme moi que bien des réalisations coûteuses sont loin d'être magnifiques. Faire magnifique, cela dépend de l'esprit qui nous anime, de la volonté d'avoir le respect de soi-même et de sa ville, bien plus que de la faiblesse de céder à la folie des grandeurs. Faire magnifique, cela n'est pas nécessairement hors de prix, ni hors de portée.

L'éminent prédicateur de Notre-Dame rappelait il y a huit jours le geste de charité magnifique du Samaritain. Le Samaritain, disait-il, aurait pu jeter mesquinement quelques pièces d'argent au pauvre homme qui avait besoin de son aide mais il l'a au contraire secouru magnifiquement, sans lésiner. Il y a des moments, pour nous comme pour le Samaritain, où il ne faut pas faire les choses à moitié. Imaginez, par exemple, ce que les Parisiens penseraient aujourd'hui de leur Opéra si, par souci d'économie mal comprise, on l'avait construit comme un hangar d'avion ou sans la place et l'avenue de l'Opéra qui le complètent admirablement.

Je vous ai parlé tantôt de certains projets que l'administration a rendus publics. Inutile d'ajouter que, tout à fait dans l'esprit de cet entretien, je me réjouis également de ce qu'on soumette ces jours-ci à l'approbation du conseil un règlement d'emprunt qui permettra de réaliser un bon nombre d'améliorations dans vos parcs: les centres récréatifs des parcs Jarry, Père Marquette, Saint-Gabriel, et Côte St-Paul, l'aréna du Centre Sportif, la continuation de certains travaux au parc Angrignon et dans plusieurs autres parcs. Et je n'oublie pas ce qui est actuellement en voie de réalisation: de nouvelles serres au Jardin botanique, une piscine et un gymnase au Centre Sportif, les serres de la division des arbres, la route du Mont-Royal, deux nouveaux abris permanents, le restaurant du lac aux Castors, le pavillon d'entrée du Jardin des Merveilles.

Vous vous doutez bien que je ne vous ai pas invités à faire de Montréal une belle ville sans penser un peu à mon domaine particulier parmi les services municipaux, celui des parcs. L'urbanisme, chez nous comme ailleurs, se met en pratique par la collaboration de plusieurs services. Cela ressort clairement de la définition suivante de l'urbanisme: l'art d'aménager les centres urbains en fonction de la santé de leurs habitants, de leur besoin de se déplacer facilement et de leur besoin inné de beauté. A ce triple point de vue, santé, circulation, beauté, votre service des parcs a son mot à dire, et c'est, j'espère, ce qui m'excuse de vous avoir parlé ce soir plutôt d'urbanisme que strictement de parcs.

On ne peut pas imaginer de belles villes sans de beaux parcs. Notre équipe, en collaboration étroite avec l'administration municipale, veut faire sa part pour qu'on puisse vraiment dire un jour, fièrement et sans crainte de contradiction: Montréal la magnifique.

HIGHWAYS FOR WHAT?

by James W. Wilson

Undershaft... What do we do here when we spend years of work and thought and thousands of pounds of solid cash on a new gun or an aerial battle-ship that turns out just a hairsbreadth wrong after all? Scrap it without wasting another hour or another pound on it.

BERNARD SHAW: Major Barbara

One of my favourite quotations is one by Don Marquis, who said "There will be, in the Almost Perfect State, the chance for everyone to go to Hell". I am beginning to believe, however, that this remark is far too close to the mark to be funny in North America today. We are well on the way to making our own physical Hell here and now in the shape of our great cities and their fungus-like fringes.

Please don't think I am a fanatic with a bee in my bonnet which no-one else can hear. I am paid to know what is happening to our communities and our regions. I do know, from observation and study, as a scientist knows what is going on under his microscope. And the facts are indisputable. Like a killer with a tommy-gun, we are running amok. We are massacring our metropolitan regions and their resources in the most wanton way, without achieving, in the process, the kind of living environment we really want. We seek community but produce only anarchy.

No one will dispute this. No one can overlook the sprawl which is devastating the outskirts of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, or almost any other big city, like a tent of caterpillars in an apple tree. There is surely no one who does not know a little about its consequences—the needless uprooting of the farms which feed us; the building up of park and beach sites which should be public domain; the massive tides of fretful commuters, the sub-suburbs and their problems—water shortages, marooned housewives, all-too-distant stores, doctors and schools, buses, and bewildered, bedevilled municipal councils wondering what hit them. It must be old stuff by now to anyone with eyes to see and ears to hear.

The villain of the piece — there must, of course, be a villain other than ourselves — is the automobile and its henchman the highway. They have run wild. In fact they are now running us. The sorcerer's apprentice all over again.

Time and time again in history – and when have we been more conscious of it than today? - men have wrought great harm by using new forces without realizing their potential for destruction as well as service, and without ensuring that their power would be used without damage to the community at large. The "cheap" automobile and the modern highway together have turned out to be such a force. They have given Everyman a mobility which has completely freed him from the confines of our relatively compact older cities. And Everyman individually has caught on to their possibilities for personal advantage far more quickly than he and his governments have realized their potential danger to our communities. They still don't, or at least don't act as if they did, even though our cities have virtually exploded and the fall-out is settling farther and farther around them.

HIGHWAYS ARE THE MEANS TO DEVELOPMENT

But the fact is inescapable. Highways are *the* most potent factor in the development of our regions and metropolitan areas. Development follows them for better or for worse, as iron filings follow a magnet. To guide development we must first "tame" our highways and put them in their place. We must start to treat them not as ends in themselves but as means to our chosen ends.

In view of the chaos now evident around us, surely our principal goal must be to create real communities

The Author

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once again. As human beings we desperately need communities which we can regard as *home* rather than a nightly campsite and in which we and our families can satisfy our daily needs and develop personal associations. In order to work, shop, play and sleep, we don't have to live like peripatetic primitives moving from waterhole to waterhole or hunting-ground to hunting-ground. We can do it better than that, and the first step is to realize both that we need to and that we can. If there is no such vision or objective, then we can by all means turn our highway engineers loose with clear instructions to build highways, "period"; to build them safe, fast and as economical as possible; and above all to keep clear of people — for that's where trouble starts. Indeed it does!

But in Canada another problem, an almost unbelievable one, is already peeping over our shoulders. It is that the amount of developable land around most of our metropolitan centres is strictly limited, and we are about as frugal and responsible in our use of it as the prodigal son was with his heritage. In our approach to open space as "something not yet built on", we have completely forgotten that we need space for itself. We need it for growing food, feeding cows, and developing parks, among other things. We also need to preserve open space because we can't afford to open up, service and maintain any more area than we have to. Isn't this a major source of the financial woes of many municipalities? In other words, reasonable preservation of open space must be the second major objective in our metropolitan regions.

If we agree that these are our objectives then they must also become the objectives of our highway plans. No longer shall we locate highways because land is cheaper here or construction is easier there. These are good reasons, but they are not objectives. We shall plan highways to facilitate the development of suitable areas, to avoid the disruption of existing neighbourhoods, to avoid premature development of fertile lands, to shorten the journey to work, to promote an industrial development, or for any of a score of community objectives. If we decide to develop satellite towns or major parks, then highways must be arranged to make this possible. In other words, highway plans must be part, and only part of our community and regional plans. Only when this happens will the knowledgeable sorcerer have taken over from the fumbling apprentice and the broom will again be our servant.

If we stopped here we would still be several feet off the ground. For the conclusion we have just reached is only an airy principle. The trick is to know how to put it into effect, and to examine this we have to move into deeper waters.

PUT HUMPTY-DUMPTY TOGETHER AGAIN

I remember how, in my college days, a friend complained that whatever the initial subject, our bull sessions invariably ended up on one of two subjects — God or sex. Similarly, here we start with highways and planning

and finish with government and administration. And why not? Highways are the responsibility of government, and we haven't a hope of getting highways which will do our bidding unless our system of government makes it possible.

The basic problem is Humpty-Dumpty-ism in the overall government of our provinces. This analogy becomes more significant if we remember that in the beginning — ignoring federation for the moment — the only government we had was provincial. This was the pre-fall Humpty Dumpty. Then local government was created by the provinces in order to facilitate the work of government and administration and make it more responsive to local differences and local needs. This was achieved by delegating certain powers and responsibilities to local areas as and when they developed. Thus the present patchwork of municipal jurisdiction arose.

By and large this pattern was laid down a good half century ago or more and has not been substantially modified since. But in these explosive years many of the early settlements have been fused into large metropolitan communities, and the need to put Humpty Dumpty together again has become acute (but alas it seems to have been beyond all the Queen's legislatures, except as regards Toronto, Ontario!)

To be clinical about it, as far as we are concerned Humpty Dumpty has suffered two sets of fractures. The first is a major break which splits the overall government of the people in every Canadian province into two main parts — the provincial government and local government. But, especially in the metropolitan regions, local government is itself suffering from multiple fractures which handicap it severely. And as far as our problem of highways and regional development is concerned, both of these "injuries" make life very difficult indeed.

Dealing first with the second fracture, it is encouraging to see more and more attention being given to "the metropolitan problem" from coast to coast. The rapidly growing acceptance of the idea that something *must* be done suggests that something in fact *will* be done. Old fallacies are gradually falling apart:

that a metropolis schizophrenia *can* successfully develop and govern itself; on the one hand, that, in keeping with democratic principle, absolute local autonomy be preserved, and, on the other, that the only solution lies in abolishing small governments in favour of one mammoth central government;

that we cannot afford to modernize our government and spend on the scale which our size and problems demand;

that all will be well if only there is a planning authority and a master plan for the whole area.

With this growing awareness and acceptance, we may soon see considerable advances made in the government of our metropolitan centres, Two major road projects in Metropolitan Toronto: (1) (right) the Frederick G. Gardiner Expressway leading to downtown Toronto from its junction with the Queen Elizabeth Way, and (2) (below) the Royal York-Dundas Interchange, the first tri-level structure of its kind in Canada, expected to solve a problem of railway and arterial road grade separation.



Photos from
Metropolitan Toronto 1958



I do believe, however, that this will be achieved with less difficulty if we recognize three things. First, each situation is unique in terms of its people, geography, institutions and problems, and must be studied and remedied uniquely. There is no stock medicine. Federation, amalgamation, county government — there is a best

solution for each situation, if only we start with an open mind and the will to study. Second, there is bound to be some confusion and dissatisfaction for some time after the changeover. How could it be otherwise when there are people, loyalties, traditions and emotions involved? And thirdly, it must not be pretended that reorganization will necessarily reduce the overall cost of government, in other words that taxes will be reduced. The most compelling reason for a change is usually that essential things are not being provided — expressways and parks, for example. And if it is really a matter of catching up with needs, how can we expect to avoid the cost? This should be faced from the first.

The other fracture is the separation of provincial and local governments, and for its own reasons it may not be easily treated either. But it is in fact complementary to the first, and the limb will never be fully effective until both breaks are healed.

LEADERSHIP FROM THE PROVINCES

The provincial governments are deeply involved directly or indirectly in highways, schools, hospitals, parks and public institutions. These are vital elements in the life and development of a community; and a community plan which could not prescribe for them with confidence would be a sadly emasculated plan. Cooperation there must be, for, in fact and whether they like it

or not, the two governments are already deeply involved and should recognize each other as partners working on the same overall task in the same areas. But under the circumstances there must be at least willingness, and preferably leadership, from the senior level. It has been very aptly said that "there can be no partnership if one of the parties acts like a sovereign."

Continuing this analogy, there are two ways in which a sovereign can cooperate with his subjects on matters of common concern. He can consult with his subjects - that is, earnestly seek their views and try to reconcile their claims with his own problems or limitations, before making his decisions. Alternatively, he can delegate the necessary authority to them within any limits of policy or finance which he cares to stipulate. In some circumstances, consultation may be enough if it is made genuinely on one side and accepted responsibly on the other. For example, in Alberta the Highway Department and other departments have membership on the Edmonton and Calgary District Planning Commissions and participate directly in its plan preparations. But I suggest that in areas as populous and complex as our bigger metropolitan centres, delegation would be a far more profitable solution for both parties. This is especially true of highways, which simply cannot be planned properly except in the closest reciprocal relationship with land plans. Delegation under a fair financial settlement may not be the only solution – for example in the preparation of highway plans for the Greater Vancouver area, the B.C. Department of Highways is represented on a metropolitan committee by a firm of engineering consultants who work on the spot; but there can be no doubt that the best solution is one which permits all aspects of the overall plan to be prepared in an integrated fashion by the metropolitan or regional authority.

It should be pointed out, however, that a fair financial settlement can scarcely be worked out unless the provincial government itself has a definite, factually-based highway program for the whole province. This presumably must be based on engineering measurements of highway deficiencies, traffic volumes, resource values and cost-benefit assessments, all projected into the future. But the sad fact seems to be that, with the exception of Ontario, the provinces do not have official highway plans, presented to and approved and financed by their legislatures. Here is an incredible situation - that for the government program which has by far the greatest effect on development, both private and public, we have no official plans approved and financed by those responsible or known in advance by those who will be affected by it! Ontario, the shining exception, is to be congratulated on its wisdom and progressiveness in producing and implementing A Plan For Ontario Highways. (In my pleasure over this fact, I could almost forego criticism of it on one basic point — that, excellent as it seems to

be as an engineering and economic assessment, it is unfortunately silent about the *development aims* of the highway plan. What is the plan which highways are to implement? *Is* there a plan, or is there merely an assumption — God forbid! — that the next twenty years will see "more of the same"? But that is not a criticism of the Highway Department. It can only be levelled at the Ontario Government as a whole.)

[At this point I might say that I have concentrated on provincial-local affairs principally because of the crucial importance of highways, which are largely a provincial responsibility. This is not by any means to imply that, through its interest in air fields, harbours, federal institutions and defence establishments, the federal government ought not to feel involved in this general problem, or that some of its departments are not open to criticism on the same grounds. We have had too many cases of federal buildings (which it is quite unnecessary to name) being erected in sublime indifference both to local zoning regulations and to the most elementary aesthetic considerations. And it is a widespread belief that the degree of interest taken in the impact of federal actions on local affairs varies inversely as the square of the distance from Ottawa. But surely here is a situation in which overall local government would enable metropolitan areas or regions to negotiate in Ottawa with one voice and with greater authority. It would also enable members of parliament, who are now identified either by their own riding or their province, to act also as representatives of a wider area.]

TWO DUTIES SUGGESTED FOR PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

It is a popular sport, in any country where it is safe, to criticize government. But anyone with eyes and ears knows that government is a difficult and thankless task. So it is with some deference that I would assign to our provincial governments two duties which I believe are essential to the optimum development not only of their own provinces but of Canada. The first is to study and the second is to direct the reorganization of local government boundaries and responsibilities. If I were a little surer of ladies' fashion trends, I might say that today's municipal structure is as outmoded as the bustle and the hobble-skirt. Perhaps it would be safer to say that it belongs to the horse-and-buggy era. Certainly it badly needs to be modernized. It is my belief that this would not present the political dangers which many seem to fear. I believe in fact that the public - that is, the great body of people who often seem to be politically indifferent and remain silent until crises impends - would welcome it as a timely, common-sense measure betokening a progressive, business-like provincial government. But I would suggest that whatever solution is adopted it would have three essential ingredients. (1) It would be carefully studied within broad terms of reference, for

there is no pat solution and the time-honoured custom of doing-the-same-as-Les-did will not do. (2) The study should be carefully written and well publicized, and time should be allowed for public digestion and discussion. (3) Once the policy decision is made, both time and money should be available to prepare in advance for the changeover.

But that alone will not be enough. The captain cannot merely give his N.C.O.'s their orders and sit back himself. He also has a duty — to play his own distinctive and active role. Especially in metropolitan affairs, the provincial government must either find effective means of collaborating with local government or delegate some of its responsibilities so that they can be dealt with where they arise.

Here is a task worthy of enlightened government. And only the Queen's men can do it. Humpty Dumpty must somehow be put together again. And soon.

Note. A voluminous but sometimes quite fascinating account of highways and their effects on development in the United States is to be found in Technical Bulletin No. 31 published by the Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, Washington, D.C. entitled The New Highways: Challenge to the Metropolitan Region (\$3.00). There is enough evidence here to impress anyone with the problems of metropolitan regions, and to make the hair curl with the possibilities which lie in wait if wise governmental solutions are not found to the problems of regional development. Included in the bulletin are two extremely valuable discussions by Victor Jones and Luther Gulick, of the governmental problems involved. These discussions have general application to Canada.

A parallel but very differently-based article is **Transport** — **maker and breaker of cities**, by Colin Clark, in the Town Planning Review, January 1958, published by the Department of Civic Design, the Liverpool School of Architecture, University of Liverpool, England.

The evidence of these two accounts of the same problem in such different settings must surely be of concern to Canada.

I.W.W.

REVIEWS

Training in Planning

Education for Planning: City, State and Regional, by Harvey S. Perloff. Published by The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, for Resources for the Future, Inc. 1957. \$3.50.

The earliest American degree in city planning was conferred a generation ago by Harvard University; the oldest professional planning school (at the same University) was begun in 1929. Since that time, something like a thousand men and women have been graduated on this continent with specialist qualifications from two dozen university schools of planning. The first Canadian program (at McGill) is now completing its eleventh academic year; the four schools in this country have given qualifications to perhaps 150 candidates, most of them now practising their profession. This stretch of time and testing would warrant, if nothing else did, a review of what the planning schools are attempting, how they go about it, and where they seem to succeed or fail. Toward this discussion in the United States, a provocative contribution has been made by Harvey Perloff in Education for Planning.

Professor Perloff is an economist who came to the planning staff of the University of Chicago from a background of United States government service; from 1951 to 1956 he was Director of the Chicago program. He is now employed by Resources for the Future Inc., for whom this report was made and published. The book contains many more reminders of how generous the great Foundations have been, again and again, to the cause of planning.

The author offers his ideas on education in planning, not as final dicta on what ought to be learned and how it should be presented, but rather to foment a debate about aims and methods before hundreds of additional people are released from our universities to serve in the planning profession. What aptitudes and what kinds of previous education form sound bases for work in planning schools? Are a body of intellectual findings and a philosophical platform taking shape as distinctive matters to be transmitted academically to those entering this profession? On such questions Perloff presents his book. It is written as three essays: (1) on education for city planning; (2) on education for regional

planning; (3) on the Chicago experience of education and research in planning (1948-1956), described in part by John R. P. Friedmann.

To account for city planning as taught in the past three decades, Perloff outlines much of what has been practised and written in the U.S. in the name of city planning in twice that period. (This is a handy chronicle of planning events from the Chicago Fair of 1893 to the Housing Act of 1954.) In his mind there are two main threads in the American city planning tradition: the creative impulse toward comprehensive architectural and civic design; and the gradual betterment of local government achieved by such things as systematic analysis of spatial needs and results, by works programming and medium-term capital budgets. The design professions were earlier in the field, which may account for some of the dubious administrative experiments first tried. To distil out of these two traditions the positive contributions to the art of civic government and to abandon plainly inefficient arrangements, are now ends devoutly to be wished.

The understandable greed of a new profession to stake out an unmanageably big field for itself must now be resisted; regrettably, in the 50 pages given to education in city planning, the centre and boundaries of this activity are only implicitly defined. However, it is clear from Perloff's sample "core" of a planning curriculum that it would draw on resources both in the arts of design and in social administrative studies; and it would be pursued in an atmosphere of collaboration among several contributing disciplines. Out of this amalgam of topics, each candidate might choose a specialty, but in his subsequent career he would remain enough of a generalist to be able to deal with departmental people and issues foreign to his particular expertise.

Perloff suggests that the range of specialties available in a city planning school must depend on problems of intense interest to individual faculty members, and on those problems presented by the school's physical surroundings (and presumably prominent in the thoughts of local practitioners). The author assumes that for the intellectual exploration, intercourse and guidance required in so fluid and demanding an activity, a first-rate university is the only possible seedbed.

If city planning offers few careers for those seeking routine tasks, regional planning offers none at all. Whereas there is now dissatisfaction with much that once was taken as the accepted doctrine of city planning, there is hardly a pretence of a corpus of knowledge for the regional field. This makes necessary for the present study some 37 pages of descriptions of the things done by people paid to concern themselves with the changing economic ingredients in bigger-than-urban puddings. The effective work seems to be done by those in metropolitan, state or national agencies with quite specific operational responsibilities (e.g. natural resources or transport), yet who are trained to observe the external implications of their agency's choices.

Whereas city planning is said to require generalists with some specialty, Perloff argues that regional planning requires specialists with some ability to deal with more general considerations. Needless to say, the recognized careers in regional planning are less codified than in city planning; this is partly because so few single-purpose agencies operating over extended areas (say, highway or power authorities) have seen the need to look beyond their own account-books in taking decisions. The public disasters perpetrated in this blinkered way are sufficient to give confidence that a wider look at social consequences is called for, and people with organized thoughts on regional planning will thus get jobs.

It is for the universities to explore logical and exciting approaches to these problems, the author says, before the most influential operating agency in each region lays down its own specification of what the region's university should teach. Teaching in regional planning should remain close to a program of original investigations (as teaching in the design professions and even city planning has sometimes failed to do); and regional planning studies will be reserved largely, it is held, for mature specialists preparing to tackle the more strategic resource problems of super-municipal public bodies. Regional planning is not a profession, but rather he says, an outlook useful to some people in many professions.

The next 20 pages of this book are in effect an obituary notice of the late planning program at the University of Chicago. Its accomplishments were substantial, its passing the occasion for regret. In its eight years, it became one of the largest of the American schools of planning, both in size and range of full-time faculty and number of students registered. It was one of the very few planning programs not based in a school of architecture, and perhaps the only one located in a University lacking either a school of architecture or a school of engineering. It brought together a distinguished staff and launched some bold concepts and experiments which are still being followed up in other American and Canadian universities.

Contributions of Planning Studies to the Life of the University

A final few pages contain suggestive ideas about the contributions which a program of research and teaching in planning can make to the life of the older parts of the university where it is founded. The planning school is likely to be a port-of-call on the campus for public figures who have the pedagogic advantage of having urged political decisions and faced the consequences. The planning curriculum can lead the design schools to follow scholarly ways and so to justify that status as university faculties which their ancient apprenticeship system of design training tends to deny. To the social sciences, so likely to be historic and descriptive in attitude, the planning curriculum brings the challenge to define and appraise radical alternatives to what exists. For students of political economy, contact with a physical planning program can offer concrete cases in the examination of public purposes and the devising of procedures for their due fulfilment. In relation to the engineering schools, a planning program can introduce notions regarding the social consequence of technological change, and may stimulate some technical escapes from social dilemmas. For this reader, some of these final lines of thought led to more reflection than any other part of Perloff's book.

The person interested in planning, while grateful for this discourse by one who has run an American planning school,

is certain to notice some perversities - particularly as the lessons are applied to other countries. Thus, while for Chicago and for any good American study program the author claims a usefulness extending beyond the United States (and indeed many Chicago students and topics were non-American), yet in his book there is not a single reference to the literature on education in planning from the rest of the English-speaking or foreign world: neither to the Schuster Report on the Qualifications of Planners in Britain (Cmd. 8059, H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1950) nor to the reports by Parker, Carver (Volume IV of this REVIEW) and others on what is being tried in Canada. Perloff excuses this omission (p. 54n) as "largely in the interests of brevity". My view is that whole pages of his argument could have been saved, and the volume of relevant experience amplified as well, by reference to pertinent passages in this wider literature; it probably is as accessible to readers interested in his theme as it certainly was to the author.

His early paraphrases for the word "planning" do less than justice to the claims for the activity made later in the book. On page 18 they are, among others: "trying to see things whole"; "setting goals and . . . trying to figure out the best ways of achieving them"; and "aiming at and working toward a better future". Of regional studies in American universities we can get an "overview" from the footnotes of Regional Science Association!

The book justifies Perloff's conclusion that there is much hard thinking yet to be done.

OTTAWA

Alan H. Armstrong

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A Case For Decentralization

Cities in Flood, by Peter Self. Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1957. 189 pages. 21s.

Of all the countries in the world Britain is one of the most densely populated. Yet much of her land area is almost uninhabited, and most of the rest is farmland. Of her fifty million people nearly half live in the seven great "conurbations" of Greater London, the West Midlands, South Lancashire, West Yorkshire, Merseyside, Tyneside and Clydeside, each of which is a fusion of several cities and towns into a single more or less continuous urban mass. All of them suffer from the problems of overgrowth and all are still growing. Yet while these urban colossi struggle to cope with the problems created by their size, smaller communities all over Britain struggle to meet modern standards of services and other facilities in the face of a steady trickle of emigration and stable or declining populations; and while the continued growth of the conurbations is fed by their great industrial concentrations, unemployment persists in other parts of the country for lack of industries to provide jobs.

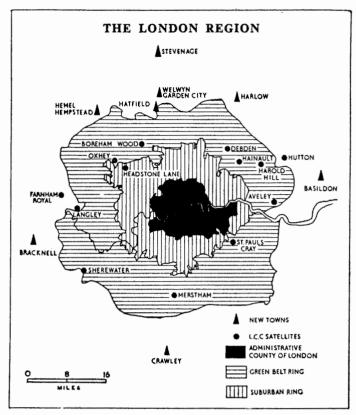


Illustration from Cities in Flood.

This paradox is the theme of CITIES IN FLOOD. It begins by describing the imbalance of population distribution, the industrial agglomerations, and the resultant problems both within and without the conurbations, and discusses the centripetal pull of employment, the centrifugal flight to the suburbs and the housing demand created by large-scale redevelopment. It outlines what has been done since the war to meet the problems — the New Towns and other forms of population decentralization; the industrial location policy of the Board of Trade; and the Green Belt schemes. It discusses the problems of the development of agricultural land and of that old bugbear of the planner, compensation and betterment; and finally it comments on present planning policies and suggests some new ones.

CITIES IN FLOOD is in fact a comprehensive survey and critique of what planning has actually accomplished in Britain since the war, not in terms of detailed design but of the physical and economic arrangement of the country as a whole. It is a disappointing story in many ways, telling of the postwar vision of a better Britain gradually lost to political expediency, compromise, day-to-day makeshifts and the demands of the great god Admin. But it is not by any means a story of total failure. Mr. Self believes that the New Towns program has on the whole been a success. He regards the policy of dispersal embodied in the New Towns and Town Development Acts as the only acceptable alternative to the twin evils of what he calls "town cramming" on the one hand and the continued spread of the conurbations on the other. He points out that the housing

demand in the seven conurbations alone — excluding many cities and towns of considerable size — will call for the building of two million dwellings in the next twenty years, and claims that of these, room can be found in the inner areas of the conurbations for at most a quarter; thus a million and a half dwellings must either contribute to a continued sprawl of the urban fringe or be dispersed elsewhere. What Mr. Self asks is that greater emphasis should be laid on the grafting of relocated industry and housing on to existing communities, many of which are now suffering from stagnation or an unbalanced economic base and could profit greatly from a transfusion of new industries and new residents.

Mr. Self's case for decentralization and dispersal is not based on a sentimental attraction to the small house — indeed he writes respectfully of London's high-density housing schemes — but on the contention that once a certain density is reached the financial and social costs of increasing it become intolerable. He deals with the claim that agricultural conservation demands increased urban concentration by arguing that, seen in its true perspective, the loss of agricultural land involved would actually be very small and by no means irreplaceable. He presents strong evidence to support both arguments.

The Great Debate will not be ended by this book, but Mr. Self's contribution to it is a significant one for three reasons. First, he treats the distribution of population and industry in Britain as essentially a national concern which can be adequately dealt with only on the national level. Second, while his conclusions are not completely irrefutable they are based on calm reasoning that cuts sharply through the fog of passion and dogma that has surrounded his subject for the last decade or so. Third, he accompanies his many criticisms with constructive suggestions designed to pave the way to a sound national planning policy.

Much of the book is only of academic interest to Canadians, but by no means all. For instance, the compensation-betterment problem is as much a stumbling-block to the achievement of effective planning in Canada as anywhere else, and Mr. Self's account of the British attempts to solve the problem is not only instructive but a remarkably clear presentation of a highly complicated subject. He has, in fact, not only the ability to present his arguments clearly, concisely and sometimes entertainingly, but also the gift of expressing an important truth in a short and simple but quite forceful sentence. If for no other reason, CITIES IN FLOOD would be worth reading as a model of how a technical book can be made readable.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

NIGEL H. RICHARDSON

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Metropolitan Planning Down Under

Sydney's Great Experiment: The Progress of the Cumberland County Plan, by Denis Winston. Angus and Robertson, Sydney, London, etc., 1957. 37s.6d. 98 pages and appendix 44 pages, illustrated.

Sydney's Great Experiment tells what happened when in 1948 the legislature of New South Wales, Australia, established a special authority called the Cumberland County Council to prepare and implement a plan for Metropolitan Sydney embracing three-quarter million people living in an area of 1,600 square miles and organized in 47 separate municipal governments.

The author lived in Sydney during the three year period of the preparation of the plan, the three year delay in its adoption, and for the subsequent five years of its implementation. Preceding these events there was almost half a century of abortive attempts to organize the orderly growth of the metropolitan area; so Denis Winston has been able to call upon a rich storehouse of events to present a critical account which finds many parallels in Canadian experience.

LAND USE PLANNING AT REVESBY, N.S.W. "The County Road Reservation is keeping a strip of land clear of buildings until the time comes to construct the highway; the Living Area, protected from unsuitable industrial intrusion, is becoming fully developed so that better roads and full services become an economic proposition. Nearby is the open country of the Green Belt and, near the top left, a permanent park and playground area." The photo and the quotation are from Sydney's Great Experiment.

The first part of the book is devoted to a description of the physical characteristics of the county and its historical development. This is followed by an outline of some of the more important events in the long and unsuccessful history of organizing a metropolitan government for Sydney, culminating in the establishment of the County Council with the sole purpose of preparing and implementing a County Plan.

A popular description of the main objectives of the Plan is presented, which includes a program of consolidating the urban area within a green belt; of decentralizing business and industry from the central area, of providing new open spaces, and a new network of main roads.

Sydney's Great Experiment reaches its climax a little more than half way through, at which point the author commences his critical analysis of the process of implementing the plan, starting with the controversy surrounding its adoption. From here on I would agree with Denis Winston that "there are lessons to be learnt of what to do, what not to do, and a good many matters about which no one is quite sure what should be done."

Among the problems considered are those of land acquisition in advance of need, co-ordination of the work of the vast array of public agencies concerned with physical development, holding the green belt line, public relations, responsibility for detailed implementation of the plan, and many others.

The final chapter opens with the question, "Is the plan a good one?" The answer is lengthy but very much to the point and it is well worth reading by everyone who cares about the development of Canadian cities.

I find the great strength of this book is in its critical approach to the practical everyday problems confronting planners everywhere. Its weakness, if any, is its avoidance of detail. To overcome this weakness there is a large appendix of technical documents of interest to the professional reader.

In all, Sydney's Great Experiment certainly lives up to the author's reputation, as in 1948 he was appointed to take up the first chair of Town and Country Planning in Australia, at the University of Sydney. Perhaps it is on this account that in spite of the practicalities of Winston's analysis there is woven throughout a very sound philosophy of planning.

VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA Brahm Wiesman

Mr. Wiesman is Planning Director of the Capital Region Planning Board of B.C.

Renewal in Proper Context

Vancouver Redevelopment Study, prepared by the City of Vancouver Planning Department for the Housing Research Committee. December, 1957. 139 pages. \$3 (plus 15 cents tax if purchased by B.C. residents).

The first four urban renewal studies carried out with federal financial assistance under the National Housing Act all refer to the importance of close relationship between the Urban Renewal Plan and the Master Plan for the whole city. Yet in none of the cities so far examined does such a Master Plan already exist and a variety of expedients have therefore been used by the authors of the renewal studies.

Town Planning and Renewal Elsewhere

In Toronto, the Study recognizes that "an essential prerequisite of an urban renewal program is a general plan or set of proposals for the development of the city. An objective of the first phase of the study was therefore to produce such planning proposals". In Saint John a somewhat similar technique was adopted after the authors had noted that Saint John "has not been too successful in organizing the functions of town planning within its boundaries. One of the main reasons is that a comprehensive plan is missing. Therefore, a primary objective of this study was to fashion a long range plan." In Halifax too, the renewal report, whilst not pretending to be a comprehensive plan, does state that "its preparation required understanding the essentials in the growth of the city and region in order that conclusions might be drawn". Throughout the report the need for a metropolitan regional plan and with it a regional housing policy is emphasized. The only other existing Study is that for part of the City of Winnipeg. The authors were restricted by their terms of reference to a designated area having within its boundaries some measure of blight. One

of the conclusions of the Winnipeg Study is that "before any major steps are taken to implement further urban renewal some long range planning must first be established" and it is recommended that the Metropolitan Planning Commission be asked to study the growth of the area for a twenty-five year period.

The Vancouver Approach to Renewal

The Vancouver Redevelopment Study brings out the importance of integration with the Master Plan by simply treating the urban renewal report as just one in the series of reports leading up to the formulation of that plan. Reports on development in Downtown Vancouver and on the Downtown Parking Problem were published last year, and the Urban Redevelopment Study is labelled No. 3 in the same series. Because it is formulated within the framework of the Master Plan the study makes proposals for a twentyyear period divided into several phases. In Vancouver the Technical Planning Board, of which the City Planning Officer is Chairman, advises the Council on a series of five-year development plans each of which is supported by a longrange capital budget. The City's financial contribution towards the first five years' implementation of the urban renewal study was therefore contained in an amount voted by the citizens for the five-year program last December. In this way Vancouver has avoided the necessity for separate and sometimes unrelated renewal projects requiring a series of somewhat repetitive reports and applications. There is now established a continuous program of renewal, intimately related to the general development of the city and to its financial capabilities.

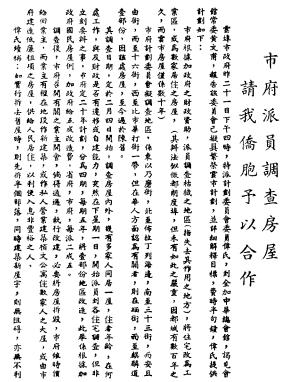
The area covered by the Study is to the south and east of False Creek. It contains some 20,200 dwelling structures,





CONGESTED HOUSING. The two photos are from the Vancouver Redevelopment Study. The large "cabin" style tenement is shown in the upper photo. "Cabins" of this type usually have a common toilet on each storey; and the water supply, which is usually also shared, is situated outside on the verandah. The lower photo shows residential overcrowding in an area zoned for heavy industry. As the report states, "the urgent need for shelter of any kind has produced a corrugated iron jungle covering every available part of the rear yards to these residences. Notice the multiplicity of stairways leading from the various dwelling units within these overcrowded houses."

44% of which were found to be vulnerable to blight, 10% show signs of incipient blight and 7% are already fully blighted. It is remarkable indeed that this should be so in a city so young as Vancouver (only 1% of the dwelling structures in the area examined were built before 1900) although, as the Report emphasizes, blight is less concentrated and intense than in some of the older cities of Eastern Canada. This large area is examined generally, with one of its parts, the East End Survey Area, being the subject of detailed study. The East End area is a striking example of the effect of intermixed land uses. There is a great deal of



ETHNIC CO-OPERATION. A special feature of the Vancouver Redevelopment Study is the existence of large ethnic groups. This document is part of an explanation of the purposes of the Survey provided in Cantonese by the Chinese Belevolent Society.

industrialization, particularly around False Creek and near the waterfront north of Hastings Street. In both these areas, almost all the housing is very bad indeed. There are, nevertheless, a few structures within the area which are in sound condition, notably a large school and several meeting halls for the various ethnic groups, together with their places of worship. There can be no doubt that the existence of these facilities has done much to influence the formulation of redevelopment policy in the East End area.

Some Special Considerations

The survey discloses two peculiarities, neither of which are likely to occur in similar degree elsewhere in Canada. The first is the existence of several substantial ethnic groups. The largest of these is Chinese which accounts for almost one-third of the families in the area. There are also large groups of Japanese, Italians and Negroes. All these groups have their roots in this area. They live there because there are social and cultural arrangements for them, because their friends and relatives are nearby and because they are near to the places in which they work, notably the dock area and the city's Chinatown. The existence of these large ethnic groups has also exerted much influence on the redevelopment proposals. The second unusual factor is the high proportion of single persons living in the survey area. Out of 15,147 people, over 2,600 are transients and boarders, 1,544 are living in one-person households and 1,800 single persons are living in non-family households. The total of 5,948 people represents over 39% of the total population.

The Report proposes the redevelopment of a residential neighbourhood in the East End area. There is some reallocation of land for industrial and commercial purposes but a large enough area remains for a residential neighbourhood based on Strathcona School. The proposal will allow the ethnic groups to remain in the area with which they are familiar and which is near their work, and at the same time will do much to eliminate the blight which is already proving prejudicial to the healthy development of Downtown Vancouver. The Report examines in some detail the broader reasons for maintaining residential development of this area and points out amongst other advantages the reduction in the transportation load — already enormous — by the provision of homes near work and by the decentralization of industry which is not tied to the harbour.

Problems and Finances

A variety of means are suggested for rehousing these single persons and it is these proposals which are likely to prove the most controversial. Their implementation will require changes in the prevailing policies for public housing projects, to allow boarders, to permit the erection of hostel type accommodation, and to permit the housing of oneperson families. The Report makes a strong case for these variations in housing policy and it is difficult to see how the East End area can be properly redeveloped in the absence of some modification of prevailing practice. Another prob-lem which may arise is the rather high subsidy of \$47 per unit which the Report suggests as the average each month. This is considerably greater than that which has hitherto been regarded as the maximum subsidy for projects under Section 36 of the National Housing Act, but here too the Report is explicit in its examination of incomes. The large number of single persons, many of whom have pensions as their only income, inevitably tends to reduce the average

monthly rent which families in the area can afford to pay. The total amount of money needed for the first five-year program is estimated to be \$16 million of which \$15,300,000 is to be devoted to the net cost of acquisition and clearance of land, \$250,000 for the purchase of sites in limited redevelopment areas, that is areas outside the comprehensive East End redevelopment area, and the remainder for the acquisition of properties which, if developed now, would compromise planned redevelopment projects. Of this \$16 million, the Report estimates that the City of Vancouver would bear \$4 million and it is this amount which is included in the five-year capital budget which was approved by the voters last December.

Vancouver is thus well on the way to eliminating blight in a large and important area of the City. Many problems and difficulties will arise but the way in which the Report has been prepared and integrated with the planning and budgeting techniques used in the City, leads to the conclusion that these will be overcome and that in just five years time, Vancouver will be an example to cities elsewhere.

The Report is well printed and clearly written. It contains a most useful summary of the recommendations. All interested in planning, renewal and urban sociology should read the Report. One relatively minor point of interest to this reviewer is the statistical correlation between windshield methods of survey, aimed at estimating the condition of buildings, with the results of exact study by house-to-house investigation. This complete justification of windshield techniques will interest many engaged in similar city-wide studies.

STANLEY H. PICKETT

Ottawa

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"The Cowan Report"

A Graphic Summary of Municipal Improvement and Finance as Affected by the Untaxing of Improvements and the Taxing of Land Values, by H. Bronson Cowan, Research Director, International Research Committee on Real Estate Taxation. Forewords by Harold S. Buttenheim, George S. Mooney and Lord Douglas of Barloch. Distributed by Harper and Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York, and, in Canada, by The Musson Book Company, 103 Vanderhoof Avenue, Toronto. 1958. \$3.00.

The skyrocketing cost of land is becoming a matter of increasing concern to house-builders, retailers, manufacturing industries, banks, insurance companies — all types of enterprise engaged in productive investment. It is viewed with alarm by governments who are responsible for building highways, air terminals and many other public works and for speeding the construction of home-building. It strikes with special force that other noble investing institution — the Municipality — which always falls heir to some of the worst effects of every economic crisis. The high cost of land makes it exceedingly difficult for the municipality to share in financing the cost of redevelopment. Yet redevelopment

of blighted areas, as well as sound new development in suburban areas, is essential to improve the tax base itself! And so the city fathers find themselves caught in a vicious circle with no apparent means of egress.

The main difficulty lies in two grim facts which must be accepted as inevitable and must be viewed as a single basic problem:

- (1) urban population is increasing, and will continue to increase, at a staggering rate;
- (2) the quantity of raw land does not increase at all.

The cost of raw land therefore rises sharply — not because of any change in the attributes of the land itself, but as a result of a vast increase in the demand for a fixed supply. The price offered for a given piece of land multiplies as a result of the pressure of population combined with the improvements erected by public and private investors.

Who Contributes to the Increase in Land Values?

TAXPAYERS — through their property taxes, license fees, and special assessments — have paid for streets, sewers, water supply, sanitation, police and fire protection, schools, parks



CAMBERWELL, AUSTRALIA. The photo and the following quotation are from Mr. Cowan's Graphic Summary.

"Camberwell, a suburban residential municipality of Greater Melbourne, population (1955) 90,357, adopted site-value taxation in 1923. It is an almost entirely residential municipality. In 1923 its land values were \$15,193,258. Improvements were assessed at \$23,784,384. Its ratios (i.e., percentages of land and improvement values to their combined value) were: land 39% and improvements 61%. Between 1923 and 1942 Camberwell imposed \$9,759,782 in taxes, all on land values, yet its land values increased to \$23,997,061, or by 153%. The value of improvements advanced to \$81,571,845, an increase of \$57,787,461, or of 243%. This changed its ratios to: land 27%, improvements 73%. Taxes removed from improvements and added to land values that year were \$448,219. Yet landowners benefitted by a steady increase in

the value of their sites. Between 1942 and 1953 further large increases took place. Land values advanced to \$57,049,166, an increase of \$25,833,916, or of 83%, and improvement values to \$240,922,901, an enhancement of \$159,351,056, or of 195%. This changed the municipal ratio to: land 19%, improvements 81%, a percentage of improvement values reached by few municipalities. Taxes taken off improvements and increased on land values in 1952 approximated \$947,957. The increase was 422%, compared with the capital system. It left little opportunity for speculators. During the thirty-year period, 1923 to 1952, land values increased by \$41,855,908, or 275%. The population increased by 72,404, or by 278%."

and playgrounds. They have also paid for transit facilities and expressways which make the land accessible.

To this public investment, Private Enterprisers have added an immense private investment in industrial facilities, homes, commercial buildings, shopping centres, theatres and other capital works.

Can We Reduce the Taxes on Improvements?

It is such investments, through both public and private channels, which have made many a rural acre increase in value in a few years from, say \$500 to \$10,000, and many a central city acre from \$100,000 to \$700,000.

Yet our system of tax assessment in most places in North America is such that this vast community-created increase in value is very lightly taxed. Our local government tax revenues come mainly from the assessment of buildings and other improvements — improvements resulting from the investment of public and private capital.

Both taxpayers and private investors are beginning to find this discrimination against the *improvement* of properties increasingly irksome. The scarcity of land becomes more acute for each succeeding generation; and of course the painful effects are aggravated in times of depression. Private investors become more alert to spot the sources of waste — to sense the obstacles, including tax obstacles, to productive investment in industry and commerce. Taxpayers — especially in their municipal capacity — are forced to search more carefully for untapped sources of revenue, and also for ways of promoting those uses of land which will yield greater revenue to finance essential public services.

So today we see portents of an alliance between homeowners, industry, commercial business and municipal corporations to re-examine our system of property taxation. It appears to be to the advantage of all productive elements in our economy to minimize the taxes on improvements and to shift a larger burden of taxes to the fortuitous or community-created profits on land.

The Cowan Inquiry

Into this atmosphere of property-tax-mindedness comes a document which is almost certain to become known as



MIRAMAR: An Outer Residential Section of New Zealand. "Under site-value taxation, taxes in eight residential areas of the ten assessment districts in Wellington were reduced by \$406,358, or by an average of 32%. In Miramar, where land values were low, the reduction was 42%. (Or, in reverse, under the capital system — both land and buildings being taxed — taxes in these

The photo and the quotation are from the Graphic Summary. areas would have been increased by an average of 46% and in Miramar by 74%.) Value of factory site \$3,264, improvements \$68,352. (Ratios: land 5%, improvements 95%.) Its taxes were reduced under site-value taxation \$859, or 88%, due to its unusually high percentage of improvement values."

the "Cowan Report", if only because its proper title is A Graphic Summary of MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENTS AND FINANCE as Affected by the Untaxing of Improvements and the Taxing of Land Values.

This publication is in fact a highly-condensed summary of a voluminous report of over 500 pages which results from inquiries made by H. Bronson Cowan, a Canadian journalist, over the past 18 years. Mr. Cowan's work has been sponsored by the International Research Committee on Real Estate Taxation. This Committee is composed of three national sections — in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. The Chairman of both the United States and the International Committee is the widely-known authority on municipal affairs, Harold S. Buttenheim, now Editor Emeritus of the American City.

Mr. Cowan set out in 1940 to study the effects of site-value taxation in those places where it had been applied — particularly in Australia, New Zealand and western Canada. His intensive field work was done in those countries in 1940-46, and since that time he has been in close touch with his sources of information. Material has been made available to him in recent years by a great many government, municipal, housing and other authorities, tending to show that the findings based upon his earlier work are still valid.

Example: Sydney's Experience

The following quotation, for example, is from a statement written in 1957 by Mr. Roy Hendy, Town Clerk of

Sydney, Australia. Mr. Hendy summarizes the benefits of the site-value system as follows:

"... There was a marked increase in the rates of the main business area, where the concentration of land values was the greatest, and a corresponding reduction in other areas devoted mainly to residential, industrial and manufacturing purposes."

"The removal of the rates [taxes] on buildings encouraged their improvement as well as the erection of many fine new structures. Something in the nature of a transformation took place in the main business section where numerous large, modern office and other buildings were erected. The office buildings were well distributed. An Act of Parliament restricting the height of buildings to 150 feet kept consequential increases in population densities and traffic problems within reasonable bounds. There was an immediate movement toward the scrapping of old and out-of-date buildings and the erection of modern edifices. This movement continued with but a brief interval during the depression years."

Mr. Hendy then goes on to describe the effects of this movement upon the activity of the construction industry, the provision of housing, the acceleration of new industrial growth and the eradication of slums.

Mr. Hendy adds that there has never been any serious proposal in Sydney to revert to the taxing of improvements.

Benefits to Home-Owners and to Industry

With both photographs and text, Mr. Cowan describes many other specific situations in which inadequate land uses (both central and suburban) were remedied by site-value taxation. Such taxes appear to reduce speculators' profits, increase their risks and speed the transition to productive uses.

Also with many examples, Mr. Cowan illustrates his finding that, on the great majority of homes, there has been a net reduction of taxes as a result of the shift of the burden from improvements to land values. Old buildings have been improved; new high-value buildings have replaced low-assessment blight; industrial properties have gained a tax advantage by similar relief from assessments based upon improvement values.

Not the "Single Tax"

Mr. Cowan is not a utopian who claims that everyone's taxes are going to be reduced by this one shift in tax policy. His book shows plenty of examples of increases in taxes under the site-value system, usually associated with failure to make full productive use of the land or with increases in the value of the land due to better development of the entire environment.

Nor is the site-value tax, as Mr. Cowan conceives it, to be confused with the "Single Tax". The single tax, which involves federal, provincial and municipal taxation, has never been seriously considered by any country. In contrast, site-value taxation for municipal purposes has been fully applied in hundreds of municipalities and partially applied in others.

Mr. Cowan's purpose seems to be to let his statistics speak for themselves and to unveil a promising source of municipal revenue which at the same time will provide the incentives required to accelerate the building of improvements. He points out that it is not only a matter of taxing more heavily the unimproved land, and taxing the improvements less heavily or not at all. It is a matter of adding to the tax base by increasing the value of improvements and, through that means, adding to the demand for (and therefore the value of) the land itself. Mr. Cowan is convinced that, although the speculator is handicapped under this system, land values actually rise because the demand for land is increased. Taxes on buildings, he says,

"operate to depreciate the tax base by reducing the net income obtained from improvements and discouraging their erection or renovation. This diminishes the demand for land and depreciates its value. Site-value taxation reverses these effects. By removing all taxes from improvements, the demand for land is increased and land values rise."

Under Depression Conditions

Wouldn't land values prove inadequate as a source of revenue under depression conditions? Mr. Cowan says that he paid special attention to this question and found that in sixty years of experience with site-value taxation in Australasia, there had been no case where a municipality had reverted to the taxation of improvements, even in part, as a result of a depression. Indeed out of 768 municipalities where site-value taxation had been adopted, only eight

abandoned it, due to local circumstances. Only one of these was in Australia, out of a total of 571, and the other 7 were in New Zealand, out of 197.

Would Such Taxation Help Urban Planning?

The Graphic Summary would be still more valuable if it spelled out its author's observations regarding the impact on town planning. Does the impulse to put land to better use operate to compel the "highest" use in a purely economic sense? If so, does it produce an excessive density? One of course recalls at once that the highest buildings in the world have sprung up in a city notorious for the profits derived from "unearned" community-created values. Would the high buildings have been still higher and more numerous under site-value taxation? One suspects that Mr. Cowan would say No - that the contrary has been shown in Australasia. In the Sydney story mentioned above, the Clerk noted that a limit of 150 feet was placed upon building heights. No doubt the planner would have to be as alert under this system as under any other. Surely no advocate of the sitevalue system would claim that it would operate automatically to provide public open spaces where open spaces were needed, or to prevent undue traffic congestion. It might well become a valuable aid to planning, but never a substitute.

We may also find that, besides site-value taxation, there are other or supplementary means to combat speculation and to capture a substantial part of the community-created land values for public purposes. In the United States today there is more than a flurry of interest in the device of purchasing development rights in rural and semi-rural land as a means of combatting sprawl and eliminating the costly function of the land speculator. Even talk about the outright purchase of land by government as a measure for implementing town and regional planning is no longer confined to the "long-hairs". (See William H. Whyte Jr. in FORTUNE, January 1958, and an editorial in the ASPO Newsletter in March 1958). It is considered in many business circles as a means of expediting legitimate business, both public and private, in urban development.

Conclusion

However skeptical we may be about "panaceas", we are forced today to study old proposals with care and to search around for new remedies. The ills of municipal finance and city-building are too serious to be cured entirely by grants or new tax-sharing arrangements with senior governments. Indeed the senior levels may use their influence mainly to stimulate new productive development; we are almost certain to see a combined and determined effort of all levels of government to find means to speed up the improvement of our urban structure. The effect of taxation as well as new legal devices will have to be closely studied; and in such a study The Cowan Report deserves thorough scrutiny by both government and private executives.

ERIC BEECROFT

OTTAWA

You are cordially invited to join the

COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

an association of citizens, both lay and professional, who desire to support the orderly growth of our Canadian communities;

a clearing house for knowledge relating to all phases of urban development.

What does your own community need? Relief of traffic congestion? Better public transit arrangements? Removal of the costly burden of blight in central areas? More housing? More industry? Conveniently-located schools? Recreation areas? Effective measures against air and water pollution? Better control of new urban growth to reduce costs to homeowners, developers and taxpayers?

Such problems, common to nearly all Canadians, are becoming more and more acute. Our explosive urban growth confronts all of our governments with extremely difficult decisions about expensive works and installations. Since these decisions are critical and far-reaching, a great new need has arisen for an informed public understanding of the processes of physical planning.

CPAC's program is a means to this end. It involves (1) organized discussions and activity in the local urban regions, (2) publications and (3) conferences.

Through its publications — magazines and pamphlets — CPAC provides its members with material which can be used in discussion and as a guide to local action. In our indexes and lists, as on the following page, you will see the wide range of material already available in the Community Planning Review and other literature. Nearly all of this literature has been written in Canada and has arisen out of Canadian experience in urban development.

Our annual national conferences — as at Ottawa in 1956 and Vancouver in 1957 — and our regional conferences are doing much to excite interest in applying modern knowledge to city building in all its aspects — residential subdivisions, industrial siting, shopping centres and traffic solutions.

We want particularly in the next stage of our growth to help in the creation and strengthening of active citizen groups in every urban region in Canada. We expect to see the local citizen group become the primary unit of support for better city building. Where civic development groups already exist, as they do in many areas, CPAC would like to serve them as a channel of contact with similar bodies throughout Canada and as a source for the interchange of ideas through our magazines, speakers, annual national conferences and occasional regional and local meetings.

We shall welcome requests for more detailed information about CPAC or about individual or group memberships. Sample copies of the publications will be sent to you upon request.

A membership form is attached. You will note that the individual membership fee of \$5 entitles you to receive both of the regular publications — the Community Planning Review (four times yearly) and the Community Planning News (six times yearly), and to vote in meetings of the Association, nationally, provincially and locally. The Sustaining Membership at \$25 — used by firms, municipalities and civic associations — entitles the group to list six people to receive all of the magazine issues and to list additional individual members at \$4 each.

Eric Beecroft,
National Director.

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